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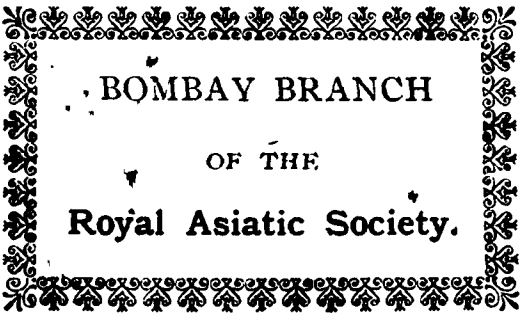

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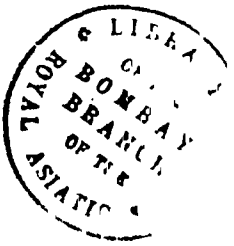
PREFACE.

This note has been prepared by Mr. T. R. Amalnerkar, formerly a Professor in the Canadian Mission College at Indore and now a Judicial Officer under the Indore Darbar.

C. E. L.



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THE MEANING AND ORIGIN OF YAJNYOPAVIT

OR

THE SACRED THREAD OF THE BRAHMANS.

1. The investiture with the sacred thread is the most interesting part of the sacrament of initiation or the ceremony of Upanayana, as it is called, which every boy belonging to the three superior castes of India, must perform with the avowed object of entering upon the study of the Vedas or the holy scripture.

2. The ceremony of Upanayana (उपनयन) appears to be an old one handed down to us, in all probability, from the dawn of Vedic civilization. It is alluded to in several Upanishads such as the Chhāndogya and others. It is referred to in the Taittiriya Brāhmana (111—39. 33-2—3). The following description of this sacrament of initiation occurs at the Satapatha Brāhmana (111—56, 8) :—

शौचे योजयतः इमानि समित्काष्ठानि उपायानि भगवतामिति । सहोवाच यदैवं नावच्योमूर्धाते न्यपतिष्यत् एहि उपेहीति तथेति तं होपनिन्ये । तस्मैहैतांशोक तरांव्याकृतिं उवाच यत् सत्यं तस्मात् सत्यमेवं वदेत् ॥ १३ ॥ ब्राह्मणम् ॥ ब्रह्मचर्यं मागामित्याह । ब्रह्मणएवैतदात्मानं निवेदयति ब्रह्मचारी असानि इत्याह ब्रह्मणएवै तदात्मानं परिददाति अथैनमाह को नामासीति प्रजापतिर्वैकः प्रजापत्यमेवैनं तत्कृत्वोपनयन्ते ॥ १ ॥ अथास्य हस्तं परिगृह्णाति । इन्द्रस्य ब्रह्मचारी असि अग्निराचार्यस्तवाहं आचार्यस्तवासौइतिएते एव श्रेष्ठे बलिष्ठे देवते ताभ्यामेवैनं श्रेष्ठाभ्यां बलिष्ठाभ्यां देवताभ्यां परिददाति इति तथा हास्य ब्रह्मचारी नकांच भाति नार्च्छति न स एवं वेद ॥ २ ॥ अथैनं भूतेभ्यः परिददाति प्रजापतयेत्वा परिददामि देवाय त्वासवित्रे परिददामि इत्येतैवैश्रेष्ठे बलिष्ठे देवते] एताभ्यांएवैनंश्रेष्ठाभ्यां वसिष्ठाभ्यां देवताभ्यां परिददाति तथाहास्य ब्रह्मचारी न कांचनार्ति आर्च्छति नसयएवंवेद ॥ ३ ॥ अद्भ्यस्त्वौषधीभ्यश्च परिददामीति । तदेनं अद्भ्यश्चौषधीभ्यश्च परिददाति द्यावा पृथ्वीभ्यांत्वा परिददामीति तदेनं आभ्यां द्यावापृथ्वीभ्यां परिददाति सर्वेभ्यस्त्वा अधिविश्वेभ्यस्त्वाभूतेभ्यः परिददात्य रिष्टत्वै तथा तथा हास्य ब्रह्मचारी न कांचनार्तिं अर्च्छति न सच एवं वेद ॥ ८ ॥ शतं ५६०० ब्रह्मचारी असीत्याह ब्रह्मणएवैनं तत् परिददाति आपोशानोन्वमृतंवा आपोमृऽतमशाने त्येवैनं तदाह कर्म कुर्विति वीर्यं वैकर्मवीये कुरु इति एवैनं तदाह समिधमाधेहीति समित्त्वात्मानं तेजसा ब्रह्मवर्चसेन इत्येवैनं तदाह सुश्रुस्व इति मामृधा इत्येवैनं तदाह आपोशानेमृतं वा आपोमृत मशाने त्यैवैनं तदाह तदेनं उभयतो मृते परिगृह्णाति तथा हास्य ब्रह्मचारी न कांच नार्तिमार्च्छति नस एवंवेद ॥ ६ ॥ अथास्मै सावित्री मन्वाह ॥

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3. The Satapatha Brāhmana, the store-house of information, describes that the ceremony consisted in the teaching of the Sacred Hymn called सावित्री or गायत्री chanting the praise of the sun. From this time the boy initiated was to lead the life of Prajāpati (प्रजापति) or the Lord of creations. He was to imitate the Lord in every respect, namely, in dress and holy acts. Of this life of a student and the ceremony of Upanayana Fire, the holiest of the holy was the teacher. The boy was to be committed to the care of deities presiding over elements or herbs and water. This is in sum and substance the idea of Upanayana as found described in the ancient work.

4. The sacred thread which a Batua boy puts on at the ceremony of Upanayana (उपनयन) is called Brahmasūtra, more commonly known as Yajnyopavīt. The Batua goes through the rite as a preliminary to commencing the life of a student. पश्चात् अग्नेः अवस्थाप्य ब्रह्मचर्यम् आयाम् इति वाचयति ब्रह्मचर्यम् असानि इति च ॥ (Pāraskara Grihya Sūtra II, 61.)

5. Pāraskar Grihya Sūtra (II, 6) says that the boy Batua should sacrifice to fire, should carry a staff in his hand, should serve his preceptor and should beg alms ; these are the principal duties imposed upon him. The other duties, such as moving from village to village, etc., which merely add to the fame of the Brahmachāri are auxiliary only. As a general rule, a Batua ought to devote twelve years at least to completing this period of Brahmacharya, or the life of a student. Our chief interest at the present moment in the Upanayana ceremony centres in the investiture of the boy with the holy cord or Yajnyopavīt. What is this Yajnyopavīt ? Was it or was it not the principal part of the ceremony ? These are the questions that naturally arise in the mind of an inquirer.

The general opinion held by the Brāhman community at present is that the sacrament of initiation is the ceremony of putting on the sacred thread which entitled a man to perform all the ceremonies prescribed in the Shāstras. But it is to be observed that in the majority of the Grihya Sūtras which are the chief sources of information on the point, there is an entire absence of any reference to the sacred thread in the ceremony of Upanayana. The tying round the waist of the grass cord appears to be the principal part of the ceremony of Upanayana (*a*).

6. The sacrament of initiation is variously termed. It is called (उपनयन, व्रतबंध, मौंजीबंधन and संस्कार.) The word means literally working upon. It denotes the ceremony (संस्कार) of purification. A man is naturally supposed to be unclean and is therefore in need of purification. This ceremony (संस्कार) clears off this uncleanliness and lifts the (बटु) into a higher

level, thus making him a (ब्राह्मण). It is therefore aptly said जन्मना जायते शूद्रः संस्काराद् द्विज उच्यते॥

7. That ceremony is itself termed Maunji Bandhana (मौंजीबंधन) in Sanskrit and Maunj (मौंज) in Marāthi, which is a corruption of Maunji Bandhana and the Batua is called a Munja (मुंजा) in Marāthi. The Vasistha Dharma Sūtra cites a verse from Harita (11, 6) which lays down the rule that no religious ceremony can be performed by a child before he has been girt with the sacred girdle (Mekhala), since he is on a level with a Shūdra before this new birth from the Veda. The same rule has been laid down by Baudhāyana. (नास्य कर्म नियच्छन्ति किंचिदामौंजिबंधनात् I.—1, 1, 6, धर्मसूत्र) बौधायनधर्मसूत्र॥

8. The girding of the loins with a cord of grass called मुंज termed मुंजयोक्त was, in early time, a necessary preliminary condition before a man or woman could begin the performance of a sacrifice. Kātyāyana, in the third chapter of his Shrauta Sūtra thus writes :—पत्नीसंनह्य प्रत्यग् दक्षिणत उपविष्टायां गार्हपत्यस्य मुंजयौ भक्तोणभिवृता परिहरत्यधी वासोऽदित्यै रास्नासि॥

9. There are passages in the Sanhita and Brāhmanas too numerous to mention in which a sacrificer and his wife are enjoined to girdle up the loins with a grass cord. To put the matter beyond doubt we refer the reader to the Hiranyakeshi Grihya Sūtra (1, 1, 2, 6) which makes the boy wear the sacred thread and sip water at the very beginning of the ceremony and before the boy receives the sacrament of initiation. And this is in exact harmony with the teaching of the Gobhila Grihya Sūtra which lays down a general direction that a man should put on a sacred cord and sip water before he begins any Grihya ceremony. (यज्ञोपवीतिनाचान्तोदकेन कृत्यम्। गोभिल गृह्यसूत्र I, 1.)

There is no wonder then that a boy should put on a sacred thread, sip water and then begin the ceremony of Upanayana.

There does not appear to be any special rite prescribed for putting on a sacred cord. It was usual for Brāhmans to put on a holy cord and sip water and then begin the performance of any rite whatever pertaining to the Grihya ceremonial. At the close of the period of the Brāhmanas, the sacrificial rites comprised under the term " Shrauta " are on the decline. It was then that the Grihya ceremonies attracted the attention of the learned Brāhmans who began to elaborate and systematise these rites.

10. At this time therefore these ceremonies began to acquire a classical value at the hands of the learned Brāhmans. They prescribed a rite for bathing, washing the mouth, and indeed for almost every ordinary daily act. Of all the Grihya acts that of putting on the sacred cord was the most

important. The Brāhmans saw the necessity of incorporating it with some rite or other, and they hit upon the ceremony of initiation as the most convenient rite wherein to insert the Mantra and the formula which accompany the act of putting on the holy cord. The sacrament of initiation is the ceremony to put on the paraphernalia of Brāhmanhood. Therein the Batua is enjoined to put on new clothes, a grass cord, a deer skin, and to carry a staff. The fertile genius of the Brāhmans after all found a most convenient rite wherein to insert the ceremony of putting on the sacred thread. It is on this theory that we can account for the insertion of the rite of putting on the holy cord in the Pāraskara and Sānkhyāyana Grihya Sūtras, while it is absent in the majority of the Grihya Sūtras extant.

11. I do not mean to say that the custom of the putting on the sacred thread did not exist at the time these works were written on the Grihya ceremonial. There are some scholars, notably Professor Tilak, of Poona, who consider that the custom of putting on the sacred thread sprang up later than the time of the writers of the Grihya Sūtras (Oroin, 148 & 149 pp). I maintain in opposition to such writers that the custom. of putting on the sacred thread has existed among the Aryan races from the earliest times of Vedic-Aryan civilization down to the latest. At the time of the Rig Veda, and even before Aryans, the custom of putting on the sacred thread prevailed among the Brāhmans. The sacred cord appears to have been the badge of Brāhmanhood, at the time of the composition of the Rig Veda. At the time of Yājnyavalkya the custom of putting on the holy cord had taken such a deep root that a Brāhman could then on no account dispense with it (Jābāla Up., 5). The author of the Upanishad makes Atri ask Yājnyavalkya of a novel ceremony of becoming a Brāhman without a cord or यज्ञोपवीत. This turns out to be the ceremony of संन्यास. In the opinion of the writer of the Jābālopanishad the custom of putting on the sacred thread had taken up a firm footing before the time of Yājnyavalkya.

There is another passage in the Satapatha Brāhmana (2, 3, 4) which lifts up the custom into a far higher antiquity than the Jābālopanishada. The Satapath Brāhmana refers the custom of putting on the sacred thread to the earliest times of Aryan civilization, we find the following lines in the Satapatha, Brāhmana :—प्रजापतिर्वैभूतानि उपसीदन् ॥ प्रजावै भूतानि ॥ विनोधेहो यथा जीवामेति ततो देवा यज्ञोपवीतिनो भूत्वा दक्षिणं जान्वाच्योपासीदन् तानब्रवीत् अग्नोवोऽन्नं अमृतत्वं वरुणवैः सूर्योवोज्योतिरिति ॥

अथहवंपितरः प्राचीनावीतिन सव्यं जान्वाच्यो चासीदंस्तानब्रवीन मासि मासि वो अशनैस्व धावोमनोजवश्चन्द्रमावो ज्योतिरिति॥

12. The Brahmopanishad invests the creator himself with a holy cord (यज्ञोपवीतं परमंपवित्रं प्रजापतेर्यत् सहजं पुरस्तात्, &c.). This is in exact harmony with the tradition of Orion among the Greeks and of Homa among the Pārsis. We can thus trace the custom of putting on the sacred thread up to the very dawn of Aryan civilization.

It is, however, to be observed to the credit of Professor Tilak that he considers the custom of putting on the holy cord existed at the time when the various Aryan races lived together. But this idea of Prajāpati or Orion figuring as girt with a cord or a girdle must be referred to the earliest and not the latter period of Aryan civilization, as Professor Tilak supposes.

13. Though Professor Tilak cannot be credited with having originated the idea of the Aryan home in the Arctic regions, still his Arctic Home in the Vedas appears to me to be a splendid success.

14. The case of his first production of Orion appears to be quite the reverse (*d*).

15. It does not appear to succeed in its objects and the Vedic and the past Vedic periods are not based on facts. The triumphant assertion of Professor Tilak that his conclusions are corroborated by those of a brother astronomer is not calculated to carry any more weight as neither the original nor the corroborative evidence is supported by facts or based on reliable data. From the scriptural cummandment which कृत्तिका सुआग्निआदधीत enjoins a sacrificer to kindle fire on कृत्तीका, Prof. Tilak assigns the तैतीर्य संहिता to the कृत्तिका period and supposes that the तैतीर्य संहिता was composed at about 3000 B. C. Fire was was to be kindled on the 15th of कार्त्तिक when the moon was full on कृत्तिका. This is the direction of the तैतीर्य संहिता (फल्गुनी पूर्णिमासे दीक्षेरन् VII, 418) of the तांड्य ब्रह्मण फल्गुने दीक्षेरन् V, 9) and of पाणिनी (नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः IV, 2, 3 and सा अस्मिन् पूर्णिमासीति संज्ञायाम् IV, 3, 21). In the day of the तैतीर्यसंहिता the vernal egiunox commenced the year (मुखंवा एतत् कृतूनां यत् वसंतः I 1, 2, 5). As the the moon was full on कृत्तिका, we must go fourteen *Nakshatrao* behind. The period thus becomes विशाखा period which takes us back as far as 16000 B. C. तैतीर्यसंहिता calls विशाखा as the Lord of *Nakshatrao* and people of Mālwā up to this day begin the year from month the of कार्त्तिक. So far for Orion.

16. It is sufficient for our present inquiry to observe that the custom of putting on the sacred thread did not originate in the latest but rather in the earliest periods of the Vedic civilization. As the Jābālopanishad or the Brahmopanishad was be-

fore Professor Tilak, he must be supposed to be fully cognizant of the existence of the custom in early Vedic times. Being fully aware of this fact, the learned Professor fell into the mistake of supposing that the custom of putting on a sacred thread sprang up later, that is, later than the time of the writers on the Sūtras. Not only the Grihya ceremonies but the Shrauta ones also required the two preliminary conditions, namely, of putting on the sacred thread, and of sipping water. In fact every religious rite performed by the Aryans of early times called forth the observance of the two preliminary conditions. We find the following lines in the Taittiriya Aranyaka (11, 1):—**प्रसृतो ह्वै यज्ञोपवीतिनौयज्ञोऽप्रसृतोऽनुपवीतिनौ । यद्किंच ब्राह्मणो यज्ञोपवीत्यधीते यजत एव तत् । तस्माद्यज्ञोपवीत्येवा धीयीत याजयेद्यजेतवा ॥**

17. The passage shows that the two preliminary conditions were necessary for all sacrifices and particularly the Shrauta ones. The worship of the sun is one of the holiest and the most ancient of Aryan pieties. **संध्योपासन** in its early form is nothing but the worship of the Sun. The writers of Dharma-Sūtras advise the king to impose the duty of a shūdra upon those that omit to perform this solar worship (Baudhāyana, 11, 7, 15).

18. The Kaushitaka, one of the old and classical Upanishads which is referred to by the Vedānta Sūtra as a "Shruti," lays down a rule prescribing the use of the sacred thread and of sipping water. The words necessary for our purpose run thus :—**यज्ञोपवीतं कृत्वा अथ आचम्य त्रिः उदपात्रं प्रसिच्योन्तमादित्यमुपतिष्ठते (1, 2,) ॥**

19. A little further on the Upanishada teaches the use of the clothes in the case of another rite. There is therefore here a reference to the sacred thread. The same is taught in the Dharma Sūtra (Apastamb Dharma Sūtra, 115, 15), Ashwalāyana Grihya Sūtra, 111.

The ceremony of Upanayana which requires the use of the sacred thread is, according to the Brāhmanical teaching, a ceremony which a Batua goes through with the object that the Achārya may teach him the Gāyattrī Mantra which is a hymn chanting the praise of the sun. **अथोपसीदत्यधीहीभोः । सावित्रीं मे भवाननुब्रवीतु इति ॥**

20. (Gobhila, 11, 10, 38.) It is apparent therefore that the use of the sacred thread was a necessary accompaniment of a Grihastha engaged in the performance of sacred rite.

For the sake of understanding the points discussed in this paper, it is necessary to define the term **यज्ञोपवीत** and the three different positions in which the sacred thread is put on. The holy cord is thus described in the Chhāndogya Parishista which is ascribed to Kātyāyana by Dikshita Kāmadeo and Harihar (at pages 276 and 277 while commenting on the Pāraskar

Grihya Sūtra).—त्रिवृदूर्ध्ववृतंकार्यं तंतूभयमथोवृतं ॥ त्रिवृतंचोपवीतं स्यात्तस्यैका ग्रंथिरिष्यते ॥

Harihara at p. 310 (Pāraskara Sūtra) quotes from the Smrityarthasāra (स्मृत्यर्थसार) the following mode of putting on the sacred cord:—स्तनादूर्ध्वमधोनाभेर्नवार्यं तत् कदाचन ब्रह्मचारिण एकं स्यात् स्नातकस्य द्वेवह्वनिवा ॥ ७ ॥ तृतीयं उत्तरीयार्थं वस्त्राऽभावेतदिष्यते ॥ ब्रह्म सूत्रेतु सव्येसंस्थिते यज्ञोपवीतिना ॥ ८ ॥ प्राचीनावीतिना सव्ये कंठस्थे तुनीवीतिना ॥ वस्त्रं यज्ञोपवीतार्थं त्रिवृत् सूत्रं च कर्मसु ॥ ९ ॥

21. The three ways of putting on the thread are Nivīti, Upvīti and Prāchināvīti which are otherwise called कंठ सज्जनं सव्य and अपसव्य. Nivīti (कंठ सज्जनं) is that position of the thread when it passes round the neck over both the shoulders, and drops down in front. When the thread being placed over the left shoulder falls over the right side, and leaves the right arm free, the position is called Upavītī. The Prāchināvīti is the reverse of this. उद्धृते दक्षिणे पाणौ उपवीत्युच्यतेद्विजः सव्ये प्राचीनावीतीनीवीतीकंठसज्जने ॥

22. All the three words are derived from वी to weave and denote any thing woven, though Professor Tilak seems to take it in the sense of thread alone. The Gobhila Grihya Sūtra thus describes the process.—यज्ञोपवीतं कुरुते सूत्रं वस्त्रं वापि कुशरज्जुमेव (II, 11) ॥

23. The Sūtra teaches that you wear a thread, a cloth, grass or a cord, and you get a sacred cord required for a sacrifice.

Moreover if we look to the words of the Taittiriya Aranyaka (अजिनं वासोवा दक्षिणत उपवीय, II, 1). उपवीति appears to be used in a still wider sense—that of putting on the hide or cloth in a particular way. This circumstance naturally leads us to suspect the general acceptation of the word Yajnyopavīt only as a thread. Sāyana writing in the 14th century A. D. was aware of the two meanings of the word उपवीति having reference both to a cloth and to a thread. In his Jaiminya-nayayamalavastra (III, 4, 1) he thus writes:—(*e*) अत्र प्रतीयमानं जीवितादिकं वासोविषयं नभिवृत्सूत्र विषयम् ॥

24. The three positions, Nivīti, etc., have reference, he observes, to a cloth and not to a sacred thread. Kumārila Bhatta, another Mimānsa writer of eminence, who is assigned to the 8th century A. D. (J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII, 16th art.) shows acquaintance with the meaning of Nivīti as having reference to a cloth. In his Tantravārtika (III, 4, 2) Kumārila Bhatta thus writes:—नीवीतं केचित् गलवेष्णिकावंधं स्मरन्ति केचित् परिकरबंधम् ॥

25. Kumārila quotes Smritis where the word Nivīti was taken either as an upper cloth (garment) or a piece of cloth for

girding the loins. The Grihya Sūtras too dealing with the subject of Upanayana open with the investiture of the Batua with clothes. Sāyana Achārya points out a passage from a more ancient and more authoritative work than the Grihya Sūtras. He calls our attention to a passage in the Taittiriya Aranyaka (11, 1) which fully describes the three positions as having reference to a cloth and not to a thread. In the Grihya Sūtras we meet with indications that a sacred thread is a substitute for clothes. For instance, Apastamba prescribed the use of the sacred thread instead of an upper garment, the oft quoted verse (Chandrakānt on Gobhila Grihya Sūtra, p. 17) points to the same thing. यज्ञोपवीतेद्वे धार्येश्रौते स्मार्तेपु कर्मसु । तृतीय-मुत्तरीयार्थं वस्त्राभावे तदिष्यते ॥

26. Professor Tilak in his very valuable treatise called "Orion" (p. 146) which should be read by every scholar, observes that in the ritual prescribed in the Grihya Sūtras there is no mention made of the sacred thread. A reference, however, to the Pāraskara Grihya Sūtra (11, 2, 11) and to the Sānkhyāyana Grihya Sūtra (11, 2, 3) shows that the custom of the putting on the holy cord not only did exist and was prescribed by those writers but had been handed down to them as an ancient custom. The Pāraskara Grihya Sūtra quotes the following Mantra which is the formula used at the time of putting on the sacred thread—यज्ञोपवीतं परमंपवित्रं प्रजापतेर्यत् सहजंपुरस्तात् । आयुष्यमग्र्यं प्रतिमुंच शुभ्रं यज्ञोपवीतं बलमस्तुतेजः ॥ यज्ञोपवीतमसियज्ञस्यत्वां यज्ञोपवीतेन उपनह्यामि इति ॥

Those words may be thus rendered: "Yajnyopavīt" which was born with Prajāpati of old is very holy, put the Yajnyopavīt round me (or excellently woven), which is beneficial to life; which is the first thing, which is white, let it add to life and power. Thou art the Upavita of Yajna (sacrifice) *alias* Prajāpati or the Lord of creation, I bind Thee with Yajnyopavīt of Yajna (Sacrifice, *i.e.*, the Lord).

We have translated the Mantra which is the formula of putting on the sacred thread occurring in the Pāraskara Grihya Sūtra as having reference to the sacred thread, for the obvious reason that Pāraskara quotes it as a Mantra and as a formula. That Mantra as such occurs at the Brahmopanishad and is referred to in several other Upanishads. As the Upanishads look upon it as a Mantra and as a formula for putting on the sacred cord, there can scarcely be any doubt therefore that our interpretation of the Mantra in question is correct. An additional proof that a thread as such was to be put on is furnished by another Sūtra occurring in the third chapter of the Pāraskara Grihya Sūtra. The Sātra in question runs thus :— एकवस्त्राः प्राचीनावीतिनः ॥

The author is here treating of the ceremony of offering water to the manes (Pitri). The Sūtras give a direction that the person offering water to the manes should put on one cloth, *i.e.*, round the waist, and should put on the sacred cord over the right shoulder.

Here the word प्राचीनावीतिनः cannot have reference to a deer skin nor can it have reference to a cloth, for it is preceded by एकवस्त्राः. It cannot be supposed that प्राचीनावीतिनः is defined by एकवस्त्राः; *firstly*, because एकवस्त्राः precedes प्राचीनावीतिनः and *secondly*, because the author cannot be taken here to define the word प्राचीनावीतिनः; that word must, therefore, refer there to a sacred thread.

Nearly the same arguments may serve to show that the words यज्ञोपवीतमसि यज्ञस्यत्वां यज्ञोपवीतेनोपनह्यामि occurring at the Sānkhyāyana Grihya Sūtra (11, 2, 3) refer to the ceremony of putting on the holy cord. We may then conclude that the Grihya Sūtras—both of Pāraskara and Sānkhyāyana—do refer to the practice of putting on the holy cord and the objection urged by Professor Tilak that the Grihya Sūtras do not mention the word सूत्र (thread) appears to be of no weight. That a student must put on the sacred thread using the Mantra quoted above was too well known to require mention.

Professor Tilak's opinion may be thus stated in his own words. "It appears therefore that in the oldest times, the Brahmans wore a piece of cloth or deer skin and not a thread. The conclusion is further strengthened by the fact, that according to the ritual given in the Sutra, no sacred thread is mentioned in the description of the ceremony of Upanayana, while investiture with the sacred thread is looked upon at present as the principal part of that ceremony."

It is enough for our purpose to notice that Yajnyopavīt originally meant a piece of cloth and that in the times of the Smriti-writers it came to be symbolically represented by the sacred thread.

(Orion, pp. 148 and 149.) The words quoted above of Professor Tilak convey, or at all events are apt to convey, the idea that the Brāhmans never put on the sacred thread either at the time of the Samhitas, or at the time of the Sūtras and that a sacred thread was substituted for cloth only at the time of the Smriti-writers, who succeeded the authors of the Sūtras. Professor Tilak does not appear to have examined even the Grihya Sūtras extant—not to say the whole body of the Sūtra literature. We have just shown that the Grihya Sūtras of Pāraskara and Sānkhyāyana do refer to the practice of putting on the sacred thread. There is in the third place the 59th

Sūtra of the यज्ञपरिभाषा of Apastamba which uses the word यज्ञोपवीत in the sense of the sacred cord. The word यज्ञोपवीत and प्राचीनावीत occur at the Gobhila Grihya Sūtra (1, 2,) the Khadir Grihya Sūtra (1, 1, 4) and at the Apastamba Grihya Sūtra (1, 1, 8) and have reference to the sacred thread. In the Apastamba Dharma Sūtra there occurs at 11, 2 and 418 the following aphorism :—नित्यमुत्तरं वासः कार्यम् ॥ २ ॥ अपिवा सूत्रमेवोपतीतार्थे ॥ २२ ॥

They teach that a gentleman must always put on an upper garment or in its place a sacred thread. The following are the two Sūtras which occur at the second Kandika of the first Praputhaka of the Gobhila Grihya Sūtra :—यज्ञोपवीतं कुरुतेसूत्रं वस्त्रं वापि कुशरज्जुमेव ॥ १ ॥ दक्षिणंबाहुमुद्धृत्य शिरोवयात सव्येंऽसे प्रतिष्ठापयति दक्षिणं कक्षमंसं लम्बं भवत्येव यज्ञोपवीतं भवति ॥ २ ॥ (II, 1)

Here further on the author defines the word यज्ञोपवीत in the sense of the sacred thread and prescribes the mode in which it is to be put on. This conclusively removes the doubt raised by Professor Tilak.

We are then sure that the Brāhman did put on a sacred thread at the time when the Sūtras were compiled.

So much for the evidence derived from the works on the so called "Sūtra Literature." As for the revealed literature designated by the term "Shruti," we observe that there are a good many Upanishads which contain an unmistakable reference to the practice of putting on the "holy cord;" for instance, अरुणेयोपनिषद्, कंठसुश्रुतोपनिषद्, ब्रह्मोपनिषद्, परब्रह्मोपनिषद्, जाबालोपनिषद्, आश्रमोपनिषद्, कौपीतक्युपनिषद् ॥

But here we must for a time turn aside from the general subject-matter of this paper and discuss the question as to the time when the Upanishads and the Sūtra works, that allude to the practice of wearing the sacred thread, were composed.

The subject of settling the date of the Upanishads is beset with difficulties, scholars have drawn a distinction between old and modern Upanishads. Besides the two sorts of Upanishads noticed by cholars there was a class of Upanishads which had been in exissnce long before the so-called classical Upanishads that have been handed down to us. These Upanishads of which mention is made in the Brihadāranyaka have been irretrievably lost. The so-called old and classical Upanishads that have come down to us were the works which replaced those Upanishads which had perished before them. Some scholars, notably Sir Romesh Chandar Datt, assume that Janaka started those bold speculations in Philosophy embodied in the Upanishads. These scholars have drawn a conclusion from this fact that it was the Kshatriyas that started those speculations in Philosophy. In a dialogue in the Brihadāranyaka and Kaushika Upanishads, Janaka expressed his surprise to Balaki

that a Brāhman should not be at home in the lore of the Upanishads. The Brihadāranyaka is one of the oldest Upanishads extant. It mentions that king Janaka learnt these matters from Yājnyavalkya to whom he had offered his kingdom, himself, and all he possessed. But even Yājnyavalkya cannot be credited with having started the Upanishad Philosophy. Upanishad ideas meet us not only in the Brāhmanas of which the Upanishads are the latest portions, but as remarked by Professor Max Müller, clear and unmistakable ideas in Philosophy are found in the Rig Ved itself. The only legitimate conclusion that we can draw from these facts is that the Aryans among whom the Brāhmans were the men of light and leading originated those speculations in Philosophy which still retain such value.

The late lamented Right Hon'ble Professor Max Müller assigned the Upanishads to the 7th century B.C., in his sixth system of Indian Philosophy. This conclusion of the learned Professor is based on the fact that the Dharma Sūtras of Gautama and Baudhāyana mention the Atharvashīrsha Upanishad. With the late lamented Dr. Bulher, Professor Max Müller assumes that the Dharma Sūtra of Gautama was composed in the 6th century B. C. This conclusion of Dr. Bulher is based upon a further assumption of his that the Dharma Sūtra of Apastamba was composed in the 4th century B. C. In assigning Apastamba to the 4th century B. C., Dr. Bulher appears to have kept steadfastly before him the theory of Professor Max Müller that the Sūtra works were composed between the 2nd and the 6th century B. C. We have no space here to enter fully into the question as to the extent and the period of time within which the works designated as the Sūtras were composed.

So far as the Sūtras in Philosophy are concerned, Professor Max Müller's theory may be correct, but even then only partially so.

The proposition cannot be extended to the authors of the Dharma Sūtras and Grihya Sūtras.

The Vedānta Sūtras of Bādarāyana have been generally admitted to be a work of the 5th century B C. They enjoin that a *vidvān* may eat food of any sort. The commentators on the Vedānta Sūtras quote the present Mānava Dharma Shāstra. But it enjoins flesh-eating only under certain circumstances and contains a general prohibition as to flesh-eating.

We may then suppose that Bādarāyana here refers to the Dharma Sūtra of Vasistha or the lost Dharma Sūtra of Manu which we have shown for reasons given further on to have existed in the 10th or 11th century B. C. We have also attempted further on to prove that the Nirukta of Yask may be assigned to the 11th century B. C. The Nirukta of Yask pre-

supposes some of the lost Pratishākhya Sūtra. Dr. Haugh in the introduction to his translation of the Aitariya Brāhmana has pointed out that some of the Sūtra works now lost had been in existence before the composition of the Brāhmanas.

Dr. Bulher imagines that Apastamba is a southerner and must, therefore, have flourished in the 4th century B. C. Apastamba notes a peculiarity of men of the north of India of pouring water on the hand of a Brāhman at the Shrāddha ceremony. Again Apastamba follows a text of the Taittiriya Aranyaka which agrees with the recension of the same Aranyaka as current in the Andhra country. Dr. Bulher combines up these two facts together and infers that Apastamba was a southerner. This inference of his, Dr. Bulher calls a discovery with the help of which he concludes that Apastamba wrote the Dharma Sūtras in the 4th century B. C.

With regard to this conclusion of Dr. Bulher, we make the following observations —Apastamba, when he wrote the Dharma Sūtras, must have studied the rules in connection with the Grihya ceremonies and must have made himself acquainted with the peculiarities then prevailing in different districts.

Acquainted as he was with the ceremony of Shrāddha and with the varying modes of its observance, the mere mention of the peculiarity obtaining in the north would certainly in no sense make him a southerner. He states the general practice prevailing all over India and along with it a peculiarity found in the north.

As for the second thing, it in no way furnishes any indication that Apastamba was a southerner. Apastamba may have followed a text of the Taittiriya Aranyaka which agreed or agrees with the recension of the same used at present and long before in the Andhra country. All texts of the Aranyaka came from the north and the Apastambas may have brought with them to the south texts that were followed by their Sūtrakāra.

Even granting Apastamba to be a southerner, nothing follows from the assumption. The Andhra country was probably known to the Brāhmans as Dr. Bulher himself points out, at the time of the composition of the Aitariya Brāhmana. The Rāmāyana, as Professor Jacobe (Professor Macdonald's History of Sanskrit Literature, page 308) points out, as a work of the 5th or 6th century B. C.

Rāma, the hero of the Rāmāyana, must have lived sometime before the Rāmāyana. The epic mentions that the sage called Agastya travelled to the south before Rāma and founded an *ashrama*, or a monastery. It is quite possible that several centuries before the time of Buddha, the Brāhmans who

were the pioneers of Rāma, migrated to the south and founded Brāhmanic settlements. Dr. Bulher himself admits that long before the authentic history of India begins in the 4th century B. C., the south had been conquered by the Aryans ; what he contends is that before the 4th century B. C., the south may not have become the centre of Brāhmanic activity. We think the question of Brāhmans carrying from the north to the south their text-book has nothing to do with the events of the south, much less with the civilization and its progress therein. We shall then have to consider that the text assumed a final shape in consequence of the south becoming the centre of Brāhmanic activity. The sounder view of the question would be that the Taittiriya Aranyaka had assumed its final shape, if at all there was any change whatever in the north in the Charana of the Apastambiya who probably carried there special text-book, the Taittiriyas Aranyaka, in the form in which it exists in the south at present.

Dr. Bulher adduces arguments to show that Apastamba must have been a late author, Apastamba's quoting from the Bhavishyat Purāna proves nothing as the Purānas existed even at the time of the Brāhmanas. In the same manner, we do not see why Dr. Bulher should have laid stress on Apastamba quoting the Atharva Veda, and referring to the opinions of nine preceding Achāryas, and of Apastamba's mentioning doctrines similar to those of Jaimini, the author of Pūrva Mimānsa, and of Bādarāyana, the author of the Vedānta Sūtras. With regards to the last point it is to be noted that Apastamba does not mention, as Dr. Bulher imagines, any developed views of the Vedānta such as those found in the Vedānta Sūtras.

In trying to settle the date of Apastamba Dr. Bulher hits the right point, but he does not deduce from it the right conclusion. From a large number of grammatical irregularities found in Apastamba violating the rules of grammar laid down by Pānini, Dr. Bulher concludes that Apastamba must have either lived earlier than Pānini or before Pānini's grammar had acquired general fame throughout India and had become a work of standard authority for Sanskrit scholars. We conceive the first is the only possible alternative. Dr. Bulher considers that Pānini's rules acquired force long after the publication of his grammar. On this point we make the following observations. A book on grammar may or may not acquire fame and become a work of standard authority. But at all times a treatise on grammar only embodies rules which are being generally followed. No grammatical work can be supposed to frame rules which are not current at the time of its composition but which the author expects and strange to say, which do acquire their force by the publication of them. According to this supposition Pānini published an experimental treatise and the rules

which he proposed therein acquired a binding force in consequence of the fame of his work. This is possible in the case of the publication of the legal rules embodied in the Dharma Sūtras. But Professor Max Müller and following him Dr. Bulher have conclusively proved that such a thing never took place in India.

How is it possible then in the case of a spoken language that the rules should become binding by the mere publication of them ? No Haighly or Angus ever published a body of rules on grammar unless he found them in general use among the public. The grammar of Pānini gives the rules, as Professor Max Müller observes, in an Algebraic form. This fact is sufficient to show that the rules had been already developed and had acquired a settled form. Following this golden principle Max Müller called the Maitrāyan, *i.e*, pre-Pānini-Aupanishad. We must also conclude then that the Dharma Sūtra of Apastamba is a pre-Pānini work. We may then assign the Dharma Sūtra of Apastamba to the 8th century B. C. And this result of ours is in harmony with that arrived at by the learned Dr. Thibaut, twenty-seven years ago. The latter scholar refers the Shālva Sūtra of Apastamba to the 8th century B. C. Dr. Bulher has himself pointed out that the Dharma Sūtras and the Shālva Sūtras ascribed to Apastamba are by one and the same author. It is but proper to refer both the works to one and the same time. We may then fix the 8th century B. C. as the date for the Dharma Sūtra of Apastamba.

Dr. Bulher, after a careful survey of the contents of the Dharma Sūtras of Baudhāyana and Apastamba, has arrived at the conclusion that Baudhāyana flourished before Apastamba. This conclusion of Dr. Bulher has of late been doubted by Professor K. B. Pāthak in the year 1902 issue of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in the year 1902.

We must remark at the outset that Professor Pāthak has not advanced a single argument that can in any way disturb the conclusion of Dr. Bulher. Professor Pāthak merely advances an inference of his.....and no fact nor proof — which inference he bases on a few words.....and which we shall presently show to be utterly untenable. He infers that Apastamba was an earlier writer than Baudhāyana from the words of Kumārila as found in a passage or two of his Tantravārtikas. He does not or is not able to quote a passage wherein Kumārila mentions Apastamba to be an earlier writer than Baudhāyana.

The supposition of Professor Pāthak that Apastamba was an earlier writer than Baudhāyana is further based upon a supposed assumption of his that Apastamba defends local

customs. The assumption itself is gratuitous. The inference drawn from it therefore deserves to be cast overboard.

Professor Pāthak contends that the arguments advanced by Dr. Bulher are not satisfactory and that Dr. Bulher is perfectly conscious of the weakness of his view. The reverse, however, is the case in reality. Dr. Bulher is fully conscious of the validity of his arguments and the correctness of his conclusion. In the 14th Volume of the Sacred Book of the East in his introduction to Baudhāyana (p. XXXVIII) Dr .Bulher says, he omits to multiply instances showing the priority of Baudhāyana over Apastamba inasmuch as both the works have become accessible to the public. How can we say when the author gives expression to such words that he was conscious or perfectly conscious of the weakness of his arguments ?

Professor Pāthak calls our attention to a passage or two from the Tantravārtika from which he infers that Bhatta Kumārila, the author of it, considered the Dharma Sūtras of Apastamba had been composed earlier than those of Baudhāyana. This opinion of Kumārila (if at all he believed in the priority of Apastamba over Baudhāyana) is certainly entitled to weight and respect which will depend more or less upon Kumārila's possessing any traditional information. His opinion, of course, will not carry that amount of weight if it is not based upon any such tradition. No such tradition is forthcoming but traditions opposed to this have been stated by Dr. Bulher. In the Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra (4, 5, 9, 14) in the section on the Tarpana and in the distribution of Sarpa-bali described in the Grihya Sūtras, Baudhāyana receives his share before Apastamba. These passages, Dr. Bulher adds further on, do not belong to Baudhāyana and are clearly interpolations. Even if they are regarded as interpolations, we cannot say when they were added to the text. "But they show," continues Dr. Bulher, "that Mahādeva's statement which makes Baudhāyana the first expounder of the Kalpa among the Taittiriyas agrees with the tradition of Baudhāyana themselves." Looking to these facts it certainly does not appear advisable to build up conclusions merely upon the individual opinion of Kumārila. Men of the mediæval period are found sometimes guided by prejudices. In my paper on the priority of the Vedānt Sūtra over the Bhagavadgīta the conclusion of which has been accepted by Professor Max Müller in very strong terms and by Dr. Thibaut, I have shewn that the verse of the Bhagavadgīta upon which I have based my conclusion, has not been correctly interpreted by Shankarāchārya. It appears that Shankara thought the Bhagavadgīta to be an Upanishad and a divine work and so earlier than the Sūtras of Bādarāyana who is regarded as a human author. Being guided by these consi-

derations, Shankara interpreted the verses of the Bhagavadgīta in a way so as to conceal the fact that the Vedānta Sūtra was an earlier work. Under such circumstances it is safer to base our conclusions upon a comparison of the works themselves than build them upon the individual opinion of the learned men of the mediæval period.

Apart from these considerations, let us see whether Kumārila did really consider Apastamba to be an earlier author than Baudhāyana. Professor Pāthak relies upon the following words of Kumārila in a passage of the Tantravārtika from which he infers that Kumārila looked upon Apastamba to be an earlier writer than Baudhāyana.

आपस्तंबवचनं तु बौधायनेन स्मृतिविरुद्धदुष्टाचारोदाहरणानि एव प्रयच्छता निराकृतम्. We may thus translate the passage—"The direction of Apastamba does not appear to be tenable (as we can see this) from the instances cited by Baudhāyana of the practices being reprobate and opposed to Smriti." Kumārila does not commit himself to the opinion that Apastamba wrote his Dharma Sūtra earlier than Baudhāyana.

Professor Pāthak translates the last word **निराकृतम्** by "refuted," and further supposes that the opinion of Apastamba was refuted by Baudhāyana as by an author who flourished or at all events wrote out the refutation after Apastamba placed his opinion before the public. Without denying that the word **निराकृतम्** does often convey the force of refutation as stated by Professor Pāthak, we observe that it does not always denote that sense. It does not necessarily convey the sense of refutation as by a late writer but only "inconsistency or untenableness." Kumārila himself thus writes in the Tantravārtika (p. 136, Benares Edition).

याऽपि आपस्तंबवचनातुल्यबलत्वादि शंका भवेत् सापि तस्माद् ब्राह्मणो सुरांनपिबतीत्येतेन प्रत्यक्षश्रुतिविधिनानिराकृता ॥ (p. 148, Benares Edition.)

Here Kumārila says that the opinion of Apastamba, that a man is at liberty to drink liquor, is opposed to scripture from which he quoted a few words. Following the interpretatory method of Professor Pāthak we shall have to suppose the scriptural passage relied upon by Kumārila was written later than Apastamba's work, in the opinion of that Mimānsist, It is difficult to suppose that Bhatta Kumārila, the orthodox Hindu, believed that the scriptural passage was written later than Apastamba. (Such a supposition would be too gratuitous, if not absurd.) Professor Pāthak's conclusion about Apastamba writing his Dharma Sūtra earlier than Baudhāyana in the opinion of Kumārila is based upon the interpretation of the word **निराकृत**. The Tantravārtika itself of Kumārila shows that

the word निराकृत does not necessarily mean "refutation" by a later writer. If the Tantravārtika itself does not favour the interpretation the conclusion of Professor Pāthak based upon it does not command acceptance.

Again the supposed refutation of Apastamba is based upon the assumption that Apastamba defends local customs in his Dharma Sūtra. The next point then that demands consideration is whether Apastamba defends local customs against revelation and Smriti. Professor Pāthak thus winds up his papers :—

"At the same time, we must admit that since we do not meet with any Sūtras defending in express terms local customs against Sruti or sacred law, the conclusion is inevitable that the present text of Apastamba differs in some respects from that which was accessible to Kumārila and his contemporaries in the middle of the 8th century."

Baudhāyana attacks some unknown author. You conjecture that the author must be Apastamba because you consider that Apastamba defends local customs. From this you infer that Apastamba wrote his work earlier than Baudhāyana. When you examine the work of Apastamba you do not find that Apastamba defends local customs against scripture and Smritis, still you would hold to the opinion that Apastamba does defend local customs and would, therefore, imagine that the present text of Apastamba has undergone alterations. May not Kumārila have some other work of Apastamba before him or may he not have fallen into an error just like that of yourself? The last conclusion of Professor Pāthak involves so many suppositions each of which has been just shown to be groundless. The conclusion therefore that the text of the Dharma Sūtras of Apastamba has undergone alterations cannot be accepted. Professor Pāthak, however, points out one Sūtra where he supposes Apastamba to defend local customs. The Sūtra occurring at 11-15 runs thus:—एतेनदेशकुलधर्माव्याख्याताः which is thus translated by Dr. Bulher : "By this (discussion) the law of custom which is observed in (particular) countries or families has been disposed of. Hara Datta explains this Sūtra by saying that only those practices are valid which are not opposed to scripture and Smriti. Professor Pāthak contends that this explanation of Hara Datta is wide of the mark. But we observe that it is Professor Pāthak that misses the mark and not Hara Datta. This is the first Sūtra of the section for the right interpretation of which we must necessarily consult the previous section. In the preceding section Apastamba alludes to the practice followed in some countries of making the eldest son either the sole heir or at all events of allotting to him a share larger than that of other sons. This opinion held

by a previous writer who, as Dr. Bulher points out, is Baudhāyana is condemned by Apastamba on the ground that it is opposed to scripture (तच्छास्त्रैर्विप्रतिषिध्यं). Apastamba takes the text मनुःपुत्रेभ्योदायंव्यभजत. As his authority Baudhāyana, however, relies on another passage of scripture, namely तस्माज्ज्येष्ठं पुत्रं धनेन निरवसाययन्ति ॥

Apastamba condemns Baudhāyana's interpretation of this passage by saying that the passage does not lay down any injunction. Such being the case, we must needs conclude that Apastamba does not defend local customs in his Dharma Sūtra, but condemns them. The Sūtra 11,16 follows this section where Apastamba rejects local customs as being opposed to scriptures. The Sūtra 11,16 must, therefore, be interpreted to teach that local customs can only be observed if they are not opposed to scripture. If Apastamba in so clear and unmistakable terms rejects local customs as being reprobate, the authority of Kumārila can carry no weight whatever.

If the Dharma Sūtra of Apastamba does not defend local customs against scripture, we cannot accept the opinion of Professor Pāthak that Baudhāyana attacks Apastamba on the ground of his defending such reprobate practices. We cannot, therefore, hold with Professor Pāthak that Apastamba is an earlier author than Baudhāyana.

In favour of the supposition of Professor Pāthak that Apastamba is an earlier author than Baudhāyana, I can only suggest one circumstance. Apastamba allows Shūdras to cook food which becomes acceptable to a Brāhman after sprinkling water over it. All other Dharma Sūtras do not allow so much latitude but keep the Shūdras rather at an arm's length. But nothing follows from this circumstance. It may have been the individual opinion of Apastamba. It is safe under these circumstances to look upon Baudhāyana as a writer who wrote the Dharma Sūtra earlier than Apastamba. We must, therefore, assume that the order of the three works of Gautama, Baudhāyana, and Apastamba as fixed by Dr. Bulher with reference to their age to be correct. If we have correctly assigned Apastamba to the 8th century B. C. we may refer Baudhāyana to the 9th century and Gautama to the 10th century B. C. Gautama refers to the Atharvashīrsha Upanishad as Shruti at XIX, 12, which may, therefore, be assigned to the 13th century B. C.

There is another line of argumentation which we may follow with advantage for fixing the date of the Upanishads, Mr. Chandra Kānta in his excellent introduction to his edition of the Gobhila Grihya Sūtras has pointed out that the Sūtras are earlier than those of Pāraskara and Ashwalāyana. He has advanced several arguments shewing Gobhila to be an ancient author who flourished at the end of the period of the Brāhmanas.

To prove the priority of the Gobhila Grihya Sūtra over the existing Grihya Sūtras and Dharma Sūtra we advance the following arguments as additional corroborative evidence:—

The use of the word **सुरा** in the sense of water is found in the Vedas and Brāhmanas as stated in the Nirukta 1,12. Gobhila uses the word **सुरा** in the sense of water (**सुरोत्तमेन सशरीरांत्रिमूर्धन्यभिषिञ्चेत्** II, I, 10). The word **सुरा** was also known at the time of Gobhila to denote liquor. The son of Gobhila calls our attention to a peculiar custom existing in the olden times. In his Grihya Sangraha he alluded to the custom of drinking liquor at the time of the celebration of the nuptials as follows :—

गौडी पैष्टीच माध्वीच विज्ञेया त्रिविधा सुरा ॥ पाणिकर्मणि गौडीस्यात् सहया माध्वसमा सुरा ॥ (गृह्यसंग्रह, I, 16.) In the Dharma Sūtras drinking is prohibited and a penance is prescribed for drinking liquor (Dr. Bulher's introduction to Apastamba, page LVII, Baudhāyana 11, 1, 1, 17, 30, Appendix 1, 9, 25). The word **उपवास** which, in the Vedas meant **अग्न्याधान** literally, denotes sitting near the fire or gods for the purpose of worship after finishing which the worshipper had to dine in the company of Brāhmans. Gradually the word came to denote fasting and this use of it in the latter sense is found in the existing Dharma Sūtras (Appendix 11, 9, 20, Baudhāyana 11, 1, 3). Gobhila uses the word in its more ancient signification of dining after worshipping the fire or the gods (1, 3, 2 **सन्ध्यापूर्णमासी मुपवस्ते**).

Gobhila also uses the word **उपवास** in the sense of fast (**उपोषिता वसंमीलितायानुमापयेत्** III, 2, 34). In the Sūtras of Gobhila the ancient meaning of the word **उपवास** is clearly visible and is in marked contrast to the uniform use of it in the Dharma Sūtras in its modern sense.

Looking to the use of the word **सुरा** and **उपवास** Gobhila appears to be nearer to the Brāhmana period than the existing Dharma Sūtras.

The study of the Gobhila Grihya Sūtras discloses another important fact which has a peculiar interest and significance in connection with the subject-matter of this paper. It brings to our notice the fact that women used to put on an Yajnyopavīt or the sacred thread, which has been at present exclusively appropriated by males, at the time of celebrating the nuptials. The passage in question in the Sūtras of Gobhila runs thus :—**अथास्याः पाणिं ग्रहीष्यन् भवति सशिरस्काऽप्लुता भवति अहतेन वसनेन पतिः परिदध्यात्—या अकृन्तन्नित्येतया ऋचा परिधत्ते धत्ते वाससेतिच प्रावृतां यज्ञोपवीतिनीमभ्युदानयन् जपेत्—सोमोऽददद्गां धर्तयेति ॥ १६ ॥** (II, 1.) The last Sūtra quoted contains the word **यज्ञोपवीतिनी**. It is used with reference to the bride. The Sūtra intimates that after the

bride is invested with clothes she is to be made यज्ञोपवीतिनी, *i. e.*, should be invested with a sacred thread. Here is an unmistakable trace of the ancient practice of investing females with a sacred cord at the wedding ceremony.

But we must here stop for a time to consider the objection urged by the learned commentator, Mr. Chandra Kānta. He interprets the word यज्ञोपवीत here as an उत्तरीय which means all upper garment. Throughout the whole body of the Sūtras of Gobhila the word यज्ञोपवीत denotes a sacred thread. It is only in this place that Mr. Chandra Kānta takes it in the sense of an upper garment and sees himself reduced to the necessity of making an apology. And for what reason does Mr. Chandra Kānta here ask us to interpret the word in a secondary sense? For the simple reason as he observes that the meaning of the holy cord would not apply inasmuch as women are never seen invested with a sacred cord.

We are forced to say Mr. Chandra Kānta is not only working against the context but is interpreting an ancient work in the light of ideas derived from modern works. The author here has already dealt with the investiture of the bride with clothes (अहतेन वसनेन, &c.) in the preceding section. The concluding part of the commentatory of Mr. Chandra Kānta on this section runs as follows :—

द्वयी खल्वत्र परिवापनक्रियाऽवधार्यते । कस्मात्। भेदेनोपदेशात् । एतयर्चा इति इतिच । तस्माद्वसनद्वयपरिवापने मन्त्रद्वयस्य विनियोग :—

इत्यादिनो मन्त्रो धरीयत्रपरिवापनेऽन्तिमश्चोत्तरीयवसनपरिवापने करणम् इति शिष्यते । गृह्यान्तरे चोपदेशात् । गृह्यान्तरे च वसनद्वयस्य (अधरीयस्य उत्तरीयस्य च) परिवापं उपदिश्यते । इति इहापि तदेव वर्णयितुमुचितम् । तथा च गृह्यान्तरम् । "अथैनां वासः परिवापयति ॥ इमो अधोत्तरीयम्" इति च).

This investiture with an upper garment is found in the corresponding section of the pāraskara Grihya Sûtra. According to Mr. Chandra Kānta himself section 18 deals with the investiture of the bride with clothes and in particular with the investiture with an upper garment.

Again the word प्रावृता stands at the begining of section 19. It means "covered" implying that the bride, has been invested with clothes. The Fact of investiture with clothes is then complete. Then follows the word यज्ञोपवीतिनी. If the act of clothing has been already complete to interpret the word यज्ञोपवीतिनी. immediately following as it does like the word प्रावृतां denoting invested with clothes, as invested with an Upper garment would certainly be going against the context.

According to the opinion expressed by Mr. Chandra Kānta the words यज्ञोपवीतिना found in यज्ञोपवीतिनाचान्तोदकेन कृत्यम् does not denote an injunction that a man should put on a sacred thread. There is here only according to him a reference to an existing thing. A Brāhman always puts on a sacred thread on the left shoulder. Such a person, observes Mr. Chandra Kānta, is asked to perform the Grihya ceremonies. He thus writes :—दाक्षायणी ब्रह्मसूची इति चैवमादिशास्त्रान्तरविहितस्य पुरुषार्थस्यैव यज्ञोपवीतस्य कर्मार्थतामात्रमनुजानात्याचार्यो न पुनः पुरुषार्थादन्य दिह विदधाति। कस्मादेव मवगम्यते? यज्ञोपवीतिनेति सिद्धवदुपदेशात् । यज्ञोप वीती खलु यज्ञोपवीतं यस्यास्ति सिद्धं ऽसौभीधायते इत्यवोचाम।

नखलत्र यज्ञोपवीती भवेदिति, यज्ञोपवीतिना भाव्य मितिवा, कात्यायनइवा कथयदाचार्यः।

योषितामप्येवं प्रसंगात्। यदि ही पुरुषार्थादन्यदेव यज्ञोपवीतं कर्मार्थमिह विधी यते वक्तव्यं तर्हि योषितामपि कर्मसु यज्ञोपवीत धारणम्। नचैव मिष्यते।

आचान्तोदकेन कृत्यमित्यत्र भियत एव वाक्यमिति चेत्रैष दोषः । उपस्पृश्य द्विजो नित्यं शुद्धः पूतो भवेन्नरः। त्रिराचमेदिति चैवमादिशास्त्रविहितस्य पुरुषा र्थस्यैवाचमनस्ये हानुवादादितीनास्त्यनुपपत्तिः । Mr. Chandra Kānta only advances some arguments but does not base his conclusion on any facts. He alleges that since women do not put on a sacred thread men are also not to put on any thread at the time of the Grihya ceremonies. The thread is always worn on the left shoulder and this is the condition required for the performance of Grihya ceremonies. There is therefore, says Mr. Chandra Kānta, reference to this state and no injunction. We have just shown that women according to Gobhila do put on a sacred thread at the marriage ceremony. This argument then would not improve the position taken up by Mr. Chandra Kānta.

The Pūrvapakshin. however, brings Mr. Chandra Kānta to the right point. In conjunction with यज्ञोपवीतिना the word आचान्तोदकेन occurs. Mr. Chandra Kānta admits the necessity of interpreting both the words in a similar manner. The first word according to him denotes on injunction. The second therefore does not. Mr. Chandra Kānta therefore says there is only reference to a Brāhman's sipping water every day thrice at the Sandhya and other rites. A Brāhman always puts on a sacred thread over the left shoulder and passing to the right side. Does the Brāhman, we ask, sip water at all times during the day? Should he or should he not sip water at the performance of a Grihya ceremony? Mr. Chandra Kānta must admit the Brāhman must sip water necessarily. If a Brāhman is then required to sip water at the time of going through a Grihya rite, there is here an injunction to sip water.

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If there is विधि then of आचमन there is विधि also of putting on the sacred cord.

Let us for a moment look up to the word यज्ञोपवीतिनी as interpreted by Mr. Chandra Kānta. He understands by the term that a woman should put on an upper garment at the wedding ceremony. The word यज्ञोपवीतिनी according to Mr. Chandra Kānta then in the sense of putting on the upper garment, denotes an injunction. But when the word यज्ञोपवीतिना is before Mr. Chandra Kānta, he would not take it as an injunction but only a reference to a thing which already exists.

We have explained further on the meaning of the word यज्ञोपवीत. It denotes something woven for a sacrifice either as a thread, or cloth or a hide. The Brāhmans must have put on the यज्ञोपवीत at the performance of a sacrifice.

They must have thrown it away just like the यज्ञकंकण after the completion of that ceremony. The Brāhmans afterwards became a sacerdotal caste. They were holy persons engaged constantly in the performance of holy rites. As it was tedious to put on a new thread at every step, the Brāhmans thought it more convenient to put one always on his person. The necessity of putting on the sacred thread at all times was felt and the sacred thread become a constant accompaniment like dress of a Brāhman. It is in this way that we can explain the famous words of Kātyāyana सदोपवीतिनाभाव्यम्, &c. The sacred thread thus become a badge of Brāhmanism. A Brāhman puts on one thread but the remembrance that he had to put on a new thread at the time of a rite led him to put on two. A Brāhman who was a Grihastha, *i. e.*, a performer of Grihya ceremonies, had thus to put on two threads. We therefore find the injunction that a Snātaka who was just to begin (बौधायन I, 3) the life of a Grihastha should put on two threads. In this manner we can explain the multiplicity of threads.

Gobhila points out the mode of preparing and putting on the sacred thread एवं यज्ञोपवीती भवति. Here he used the words which are taken by Mr. Chandra Kānta not as embodying an injunction put merely a reference to an existing thing. We find the following words in the Dharma-Sūtras of Apastamba:—

उपासनें गुरूणां वृद्धानामतिथिहोमे जप्यकर्मणि भोजने आचमने स्वाध्याये च यज्ञोपवीतीस्यात् (I, 5, 15)।

It is evident then the word यज्ञोपवीती denotes that a man is to put on a sacred thread. As for आचमन (sipping water) we find the following words in the third chapter of the Ashwalayana Grihya Sūtra शुचौदेशे यज्ञोपवीती आचमन।

Here there is a plain injunction. There is no doubt then that the word यज्ञोपवीती lays down an injunction. To cut short the matter, we quote the following word from the Kaushitaki Upanishada which is referred to us a "Shrnti" in the Vedānta-sūtras of

Bādarāyana यज्ञोपवीतं कृत्वा अप आचम्य त्रिरुदपात्रप्रसिञ्चो दन्त मादित्य मुप तिष्ठेत।

The word यज्ञोपवीतं कृत्वा evidently lays down an injunction to put on a sacred thread.

The Gobhila Grihya-Sūtras open up with the general direction that all ceremonies comprised under the term "Grihya" are to be performed by one who has put on a sacred thread (यज्ञोपवीतिनाचान्तोदकेन कृत्यम्).

At the wedlock females perform the rite of लाजाहोम with the recitation of Mantras. (The performance of females of certain other ceremonies with the use of the Mantras is seen in the Sūtras in other places, II, 7, 10). किं पश्यसीत्युक्त्वा प्रजापति वाचयेत् is the Sūtra and the Vedic text again which is to be recited is as follows:—किं पश्यसी प्रजां पशुं सौभाग्यं महयं दीर्घायु त्वं पत्युः Here Gobhila puts only the first two words in the mouth of the husband. Mr. Chandra Kānta connects पत्युः with महयं in the sense of व्यधिकरण. But we can avoid differently by taking पशुः with प्रजां पशुं. The wife answered the query of the husband I look to the progeny and wealth of my husband सौभाग्यं (absence of widowhood, *i. e.*, fortune, *i. e.*, continuation of fortunate company of the husband till death) to myself and thou (my husband) as long-lived." This construction is much better and the word सौभाग्यं appears to be more approprite for a wife than for a husband. Compare इयं नारी उपब्रूते लाजानावपंतिका ॥ आयुष्मांस्तु मे पतिः एवं तां ज्ञातयो मम at लाजाहोम. In all probability the author would have laid down an exception to the general rule if he did consider that females had no right to put on a sacred cord. In the first Prapathaka itself Gobhila lays down another general rule that ceremonies at the domestic fire are to be performed either personally or through the instrumentality of females (एवमत ऊर्ध्वंगृह्य, अग्नौजुहुयाद्वापयेद्वा अजीवितावं भृथात्॥१३॥(I, 3)

Here again Mr. Chandra Kānta would restrict the injunction to the ceremonies that follow. But the words एवम् and अजीवितावं भृथात् show that it is an universal proposition. Gobhila, the author of the Sūtra, is particularly desirous of stating that women have a right to perform such ceremonies when the males are unable to do so. He cites the following passage from the Brāhmana कामं गृह्ये ऽग्नौपत्नी जुहुयात् सायं प्रातर्होमौ गृह्यः पात्नी यावद्य एषो ऽग्निर्भवति इति ॥ १५ ॥

Applying to text यज्ञोपवीतिनाचान्तोदकेन कृत्यम् laid down by Gobhila at the very outset, we shall have to say that women should perform such ceremonies after having put on the sacred thread. It is to be noted to the credit of Mr. Chandra Kānta that he allows women in such cases the use of Mantras. There is the ceremony of वैश्वदेव बलिहरण. Gobhila teaches that the ceremony must be gone through by a man personally or by a Brāhman. Again he says that it must needs be performed by

the married pair alone. Lastly Gobhila adds that the ceremony should be performed by females in the evening and by males in the morning. We ask here how is the ceremony to be performed? According to the statement of Mr. Chandra Kānta we shall have to say that males should perform the ceremony in the morning with a sacred, thread while the females should perform it in the evening without the thread. This seems strange enough. With reference to this ceremony Mr. Chandra Kānta observes that females should perform the rite without the use of Mantras. In support of his assertion he cites the authority of the Mānava-Dharma-sūtra. Scholars have already shown that no reliance can be placed in this modern recast of the Mānava-Dharma-sūtra. Mr. Chandra Kānta here forgets what he had said before while commenting on (I, 3, 13) that all the following ceremonies are to be performed with the use of Mantras. Women then are to perform the बलिहरण with the aid of the Mantras. There is again the ceremony of उपवास.

When a man sets out on a journey his wife must perform it in his absence. Here Gobhila states the opinion of previous writers that the उपवास is the ceremony of the wife पान्या व्रत भवतीति (I, 6).

We thus find the difficulty at every step and it would but be reasonable to suppose that Gobhila would have laid down an exception that females should either never perform such ceremonies or else should go through them without a sacred thread. Mr. Chandra Kānta is here not only working against the context but offers violence to the technical terms used and defined in the Sūtras of Gobhila. At the second Kandika of the first Prapāthaka Gobhila thus defines the words यज्ञोपवीत and यज्ञोपवीती । यज्ञोपवीतं कुरुते सूत्रं वस्त्रं वापि कुशरज्जु मेव ॥ २ ॥ दक्षिणं बाहुमुद्धृत्य शिरोवश्चार्यसव्येसे प्रतिष्ठापयति ॥ दक्षिणं कक्षमन्वलम्बं भवत्येवं यज्ञोपवीती भवति ॥ २ ॥ (I, 2)

When the author has taken care to define the word यज्ञोपवीती would it be proper to interpret the same word otherwise in a place where such interpretation goes against the context? It would not be reasonable to advance such a conjuncture in the face of such evidence and only to suit our modernized ideas.

If the author really meant an उत्तरीय in this place, why did he not use that word? That a second thread is also put on by women in addition to an upper garment is patent from the following Sūtra of Apastamba:—सोत्तराछादनश्चैव यज्ञोपवीति मुंजीत (II, 8, 19, 15). Was not the word known to Gobhila and so could he not use it? This cannot be said because there are two Sūtras where the word उत्तरीय occurs (Gobhila, I, 2, 21 and I, 6, 21). This occurrence of the word उत्तरीय

proves that by यज्ञोपवीत Gobhila means nothing but the sacred thread. Mr. Chandra Kānta while expatiating upon the word यज्ञोपवीत urges that there is every necessity of keeping the technical terms as they are without disturbance. Following the direction laid down by Mr. Chandra Kānta himself, we must needs conclude that females put on a sacred thread at the time of Gobhila.

Have we or have we not got any indications that women put on a sacred thread at the time of the nuptials? The question may be answered in the affirmative. Women do put on a thread even at the present moment at the time of celebrating the marriage ceremony. That thread is called the Mangala-Sūtra (an auspicious thread) which the females are to keep constantly round their necks just as males are to put on Yajnyopavita. The females however put off the Mangala-sūtra at the demise of their husband. Sāyana Achārya while commenting on the Taittiriya Sanhita observes that females are to put on a Mangala-Sūtra at the marriage ceremony. H however observes that there is no Vedic or Shāstra authority but merely a custom following which the Mangala-Sūtra is put on. What I am inclined to suppose is that at the time of the nuptials and for the sake of enabling women to perform the Lājā-homa, it was customary for women to put on a sacred thread. Gradually women lost these rites and the custom of putting on the sacred thread fell into disuse. But the memory of the sacred thread was kept alive and women were allowed the use of the thread. The name of the thread was changed from Yajnyopavita to Mangala-Sūtra. This survival of the relic of the past times does bear testimony to the fact that females once put on the sacred thread just like males.

The custom of putting on the sacred thread at the marriage ceremony naturally leads to the question whether females received the sacrament of initiation and whether they were entitled to perform sacrifices in consequence of it. Sāyana, the last of the greatest theologian of India, while commenting on the Samhita of the (I, 1, 10, p. 189). Black Yajurveda formulates the proposition and this opinion also appears to be shared by Mr. Chandra Kānta, the learned commentator of the Gobhila-Grihya-Sūtras, that women are not entitled to receive the sacrament of initiation and as a rule cannot perform any rite whatever except in conjunction with their husbands.

Sāyana, the great authority on theology and Vedic literature, denies to females the right of initiation and of studying the Vedas. He lays down that females and Shūdras are not qualified to repeat the hymns of the Vedas. This is almost the opinion of Jaimini, the great writer on Mimānsa, and of the

orthodox community generally. Opinions dimetrically opposite have, however, been held by Yama and Harita, both ancient authorities, whose views are quoted by later writers such as the author of Nirnaya Sindhu, and by Yask, Vasistha and other authorities earlier than Jaimini. The Nirnaya Sindhu alludes to the opinion of Harita यत्तु हारीतः। द्विविधाः स्त्रेयः ब्रह्मवादिन्यः सद्योवध्वश्च। तत्र ब्रह्मवादिनीनामुपनयनं अग्नीधनं वेदाध्ययनं स्वगृहे च भैक्ष्यचर्यं। सद्यो वधूनामुपनयनं कृत्वा विवाहः कार्य इति तत् युगांतर विहितमिति । The same work then quotes a verse from Yama पुरा कल्पेषु नारीणां मौंजीबंधन मिष्यते। अध्यापनं च वेदानां सावित्री वचनं तथा ॥ The authorities allude to the custom of initiating females and of their practice of studying the Vedas. These authorities inform us that after females went through the ceremony of purification (संस्कार or उपनयन) they had the option of studying the Vedas or of entering a married life. That this was the practic followed in Vedic days can be seen from the passage of the Brāhmana (मेध्य ंमेवैनां केवलीकरोति तप एवैनामुप च नयति and from the passage of the Atharva Samhita (XI, 23, 3, 18) ब्रह्मचर्येण वै कन्या युवानं विन्दते पतिम्).

Out of the two sorts of ceremonies Shrauta and Smarta, we will first take up the former in hand. The Vedic works and Shrautas Sūtras frequently allude to the initiating of females when they take part in Shrauta ceremonies in company with their husbands. This can be seen from the passage of the Taittiriya Brāhmana. We need not deal with that question in detail as the fact is admitted on all hands. An योक्त्र composed of Munja is prescribed for the ceremony of purification of females (उपनयन) and a मेखला for that of males. Both the Yoktra and the Mekhala are required to be tied round the waist. In Shrauta ceremonies the wife is frequently called up to repeat मंत्र or Vedic verses. For this purpose I refer the reader to the third and fifth chapters of the Shrauta Sūtras of Kātyāyana and quote the following Vedic verses prescribed in those chapters for females to recite:—ॐ अद्भ्येन त्वा चक्षुषा व पश्यामि । अग्नेर्जुह्वासि ॥

सह देवेभ्यो धाम्ने धाम्ने जुजुषे जुजुषे ॥

ॐ आदित्यै राशनासि ॥ ॐ विष्णोर्वेष्ण्योसि ॥

ॐ प्रत्वामुंचामि वरुणस्य पाशात् ॥ येन त्वा बध्नात् सविता सुशेवः ॥ ऋतस्य योनौ सुकृतस्य लोके रिष्टां त्वा सह पत्न्या दधातु ॥

CHAPTER V.

अक्रं कर्म कर्म कृतः सहवाचामयो भुवा ॥ देवेभ्यः कर्म कृत्वास्तं प्रेत सचा भुवः ॥

यद्ग्रामे यदरण्ये यत् सभायां यदिंद्रिये ॥ यदेनश्चक्रिमा वयं इदं तद् वयजामहे ॥ &c. &c.

We next come to the Subject of Smārta ceremonies. Gobhila lays down a general rule which allowes females to perform the Grihya ceremonies whenever they like (I, 3, 13-14).

कामं गृह्ये ऽग्नौ पत्नी जुहुयात् सायंप्रातर्होमौ गृह्यः पत्नी गृह्य एव एषो ऽग्निर्भवति इति ॥ गृह means a पत्नी or wife and the very word गृह्य may be derived from the authority cited from गृह. If the derivation is correct, the rites called गृह्य may have once been the special privilege of females, &c.

The Grihya-Sūtras of Ashwalāyana teach that females can go through such rites when their husband is absent or unable to do so himself. पाणिग्रहणादिगृह्यं परिचरेत् । स्वयं पत्न्यपिवापुत्रः कुमारी अन्ते वासीवा ॥ नित्यानुगृहीतः स्यात् ॥ यदि तु उपशाम्येत पत्नी उपवसेत् इत्येके (I, 9) ॥

The last Sūtras of Ashwalāyana teach that not only females married but virgins as well are entitled to perform गृह्य ceremonies in the absence of their parents and brothers. In almost all the Grihya-Sūtras such as those of Pāraskara, Ashwalāyana, Gobhila, Hiranyakeshi and others we find the following vedic verse which a bride is called upon to recite. अर्यमणं नु देवं कन्या अग्निं अयक्षत ॥ स नो देवो अर्यमा प्रेतो मुंचतु मापतेः (or मुंचतु नामुतः) ॥ Here the bride invokes the aid of अर्यमा or fire and recounts to him her past services or sacrifices in consideration of which, she prays to the holy God never to seperate her from her husband up to the very end of her life or neither in this world nor here after taking the reading (प्रेतो मुंचतु नामुतः) We can infer from this verse that females could offer up sacrifices before their marriage.

The Sūtras of Pāraskara apply the term कुमारी or virgin to a bride who is engaged in the performance of the ceremony of Lājā-homa, even after the bridegroom takes up her hand. This fact can be explained on the supposition that Pāraskara, the author of the Sūtras, looks upon the rite of लाजाहोम as the ceremony of a female whose status was not altered merely by the bridegroom taking up her hand, for the sacrament of marriage or wedding ceremony is only completed by the performance of सप्तपदी or Lājā-Homa.

Pāraskara (I, 6, 2), Baudhāyana (II, 5, 8-9), Ashwalāyana (I, 4) and Susrūla either assume or refer to the practice of initiating Shūdras which entitles them to the study of the Vedas. Dr. Bulher and Professor Weber draw up a similar inference from the passage of the Taittiriya Brāhmana which prescribes अग्न्याधान for a रथकार (Indische Studion X, 12).

The Dharma-Shāstra of Manu probably proceeds upon this assumption as Manu allows a Shūdra to pass to the state of a Brāhman शूद्रो ब्राह्मणतामेति ब्राह्मणश्चेतिशूद्रताम् ॥ क्षत्रियाज्जातमेवन्तु विद्या द्वैश्यात्तथैवच (X, 63). I am not, however, prepared to say that there was a general practice of initiating Shūdras. Generous minded Brāhmans now and then bestowed such a favour upon a Shūdra whenever they found a Shūdra worthy of such grace. The practice gradually ceased to be the hobbies of a few individuals and the Shūdras at least the wealthy and the respectable secured the privilege, wholly or partially, of performing Brāhmanic rites.

Jaimini in his inquiry into sacrificial rules, admits in theory at least the right of females of going through religious rites. But he makes the exercise of this rite by females, subject to such limitations that the combined effect of them is almost to render the permission merely a dead letter. Jaimini thus appears to deprive females of their free choice of going through religious ceremonies. According to him females can exercise this right only in company with their husbands—while the latter are engaged in the performance of religious rites and ceremonies. The females are thus no longer free agents. They can lay little or no claim to any free choice or desire for the performance of any religious ceremony. The only course left to them is to move their husbands and if the latter consents, then and there alone they can hope to succeed in accomplishing their (object.) Even then—when they persuade their husbands they may not succeed at all. Even in company with their husbands, they cannot take part in the performance of all ceremonies. They are, for instance, prohibited to perform the solar worship. In this way admitting a theoretical right Jaimini tries to convert an injunction almost into prohibition.

Let us now examine at some length Jaimini's opinion that females can claim no right to religious performances except in company with their husbands and see whether the opinion agrees with that of earlies authorities on the subject. Gobhila declares that the vow of **औपवासथ** is the vow of females and that males have little to do with it (II, 1, 6). The vow of **बलीहरण** or the **गृहमेधिव्रत** is a joint and yet a separate vow of a married pair. Each of the married pair can engage in the performance in company. The vow is to be gone through both in the morning and in the evening. The husband is to perform the vow in the morning and the wife in the evening.

The ceremony of **लाजाहोम** is a special privilege of females and the husband has nothing whatever to do with it. Till the completion of this rite the bride according to Pāraskara does not change her state as a **कुमारी** or virgin. At the time of the performance of this rite, she enters the arena of the **गार्हपत्य** fire while in all others, she is kept out side of it. Ashwalāyana and Apastamba suppose that it is the bridegroom that in reality performs the ceremony of **लाजाहोम** using the hand of the bride as a ladle. But the conception is merely a latter refinement by orthodox Brāhmans who can scarcely bring themselves to consider that a female is capable of performing a sacrifice. The custom that a bride must perform the rite with her own hands was so strong that Brāhmans had to confine the refinement to words or to a new principle of interpretation. They left the custom untouched and did not ask or allow males to offer **लाजा** to fire with their own hands.

In Sūtra यावदाशीर्ब्रह्मचर्यस्य तुल्यत्वात्, Jaimini according to Sabar excludes females from the holy worship of the sun. A reference to the Taitiriya Brāhmana (IV, 9, 1) however shows that the assertion either of Jaimini or Sabar runs counter to the teaching of the passage and of other Vedic authorities. The passage runs thus : पत्नीः संयोज्य प्रांच उदेत्ययं सहस्रमानवः इति अति छन्दसा आहवनीयमुपतिष्ठते ॥ The words उदेत्ययं सहस्रमानव इति refer to the sun. The wife is asked to repeat these words even according to Sāyana whose views coincide with those of Jaimini. We can, therefore, safely assert that the opinion of Jaimini does not harmonize with the teaching of the Taittiriya Brāhmana. Females, moreover, are allowed to repeat the holy गायत्री मन्त्र. The Vasistha Smriti enjoins a female to repeat the मंत्र 800 times for her mental fault (20, 5): मनसा भर्तुराभेचारे त्रिरात्रिकं पावकं क्षीरोदनं च भुञ्जाना अधः क्षयीत ॥ ऊर्ध्वं त्रिरात्रादप्सु निमग्नायाः सावित्र्या अष्टशतेन शिरोभिर्जुहुयात् पता भवति ॥ This last passage and passage of the Taittiriya Brāhmana make it quite clear that women are not excluded from the holy worship of the sun.

We will next consider the question whether females are or are not entitled to repeat the Vedic hymns. It is alleged that women have no right to recite Mantras or verses from the Veda. The allegation is merely gratuitous and is not only not founded on facts but rather militates with them. It is admitted on all hands that females are allowed to recite Vedic verses as far as Vedic or Shrauta ceremonies are concerned. There is a large number of Vedic verses which females recite while engaged in the performance of Shrauta ceremonies. I refer the reader to the third and fifth Adhyāya of the Shrauta Sūtras of Kātyāyana dealing with Darsha-Paurnimāsa and Chāturmāsya Ishtis.

Those that make a sweeping assertion that females are not authorised to recite the Mantras and consequently are not qualified to study the Vedas—the effect of which is to reduce them to the level of Shūdras—ought to bear in mind that a good many Vedic verses are composed expressly for recitation by females while they are performing Shrauta and Smārta ceremonies.

Several of these Vedic verses or passages are in the form of adialogue in which both husbands and wives take part. An instance of this kind is found in the ceremony of सीमंतोन्नयन. The hymn that follows is referred to in this rite किं पश्यसि प्रजां पशु सौभाग्यं महयं दीर्घायुस्त्वं पत्युः ॥ The Sūtra of Gobhila which lays down a direction for the repetition of the hymn runs thus. किं पश्यसि इति उक्त्वा प्रजां पशून् इति वाचयेत् (Gobhila II, 9) ॥ Gobhila directs the husband to repeat the opening two words only of the Vedic verse and the wife to repeat the rest. Mr. Chandra Kānta thus comments on the Sūtra किं पश्यसि इति मंत्रभागं पतिरुक्त्वा प्रजामिति मंत्रभागं वधूं भाषयेत् ॥ एवं च मंत्रे महयं परयुरिति पदद्वयं

वैय्याधिकरणेन संबध्यते ॥ Mr. Chandra Kānta connects मह्यं with पत्युः and fancies here a grammatic irregularity. We may, however, construe the verse otherwise and in a simpler way. The words सौभाग्यं मह्यं stand apart from the rest and the words प्रजां पशून् and दीर्घायुस्त्वं are therefore to be connected with पत्युः. We may thus translate the verse : "What seest thou," asks the bride; "the progeny," replies the wife, "cattle and long-evity of my husband and good fortune to myself." The reader can easily see the superiority of this interpretation. But in whatever way we may interpret the hymn, it is clear that the verse is composed with the object of female recitation since Gobhila, the author of the Sūtra, by the word वाचयेत्, directs a wife to recite the latter part of the verse. The लाजाहोम forms a most important part of the ceremony of wedding. In the Pāraskara Grihya-Sūtra we find three verses of the Veda which, the priest, one and all—and the majority of commentators prescribe for the bride. As the interpretation of the verses offers some difficulty, some of the commentators put parts of those verses in mouth of the husband. Two of these verses occur in the Gobhila-Grihya-Sūtra and Mr. Chandra Kānta considers that the bride performs the rite which it is the husband that repeats the Mantras. This seems strange enough. The Sūtra परिणीता तथैवावतिष्ठते आक्रामति तथा जपति तथा आवपति तथा जुहोति (Gobhila II, 2, 9,) goes against the supposition of Mr. Chandra Kānta. All the acts enumerated in this Sūtra clearly refer to the bride and it would seem strange enough to separate the one from the rest merely to suit our convenience or harmonise with our ideas. The word जुहोति must be referred to the verse इयं नारी उपब्रूते, &c., for the Sūtra तं सोपस्ती र्वाधिधारितमग्नौ जुहोति अविच्छिद्दंत्यं जलिं इयं नारी उपब्रूते इति (II, 4). Here in this Sūtra the bride is asked to throw a handful of fried grains of rice with the verse इयं नारी उपब्रूते इति. Is it not thus quite clear that it is the bride that is to repeat the words of the verse? Is it justifiable to oppose this natural interpretation on the ground that the females do not repeat the Mantras? There are several Sūtras which enjoin females to repeat Mantras. The bride-groom, for instance, is asked to recite a verse if the bride does not repeat it either for bashfulness or for some other reason. Since Gobhila and others enjoin direct on females to recite verses of the Veda, we must set aside the assertion of Mr. Chandra Kānta and others that females are not allowed to recite Vedic verses. Even if we follow Mr. Chandra Kānta and others in supposing the contrary we find the words of the Vedic verses too stubborn to allow of such a supposition. Let us look to the verse itself which may be thus translated: "This woman (myself) repeats this while throwing the fried grains of rice; let my husband be long-lived and let my relations prosper." The verse makes the bride express a desire for the long life of her husband and for the prosperity of her relations and yet Mr. Chandra

Kãnta gratuitously considers that it is the husband who is to recite the verse. This is a signal instance of the straight to which commentators see themselves reduced !

In the same rite of wedding we find another Vedic verse in the Pāraskara-Grihya-Sūtra 'इमान् लाजानावपामि समृद्धिकरणं तव मम तुभ्यं च संवननं तदग्निरनुमन्यताम्. We may translate this verse which is addressed by the bride to the bridegroom.

"I throw down these fried grains which tends to your prosperity ; I have made myself over to thee, let fire consent to that." The words of the verse are perfectly clear and need very little comment. The verse is beyond doubt to be recited by the bride who tells the bridegroom that she is offering fried grains of rice to fire for his prosperity and that she invokes the aid of fire for the match.

Here is again another Vedic verse which is prescribed for the recitation of the bride. We can thus multiply instances of this sort to a considerable extent. There is a third verse of the Veda which occurs in the nuptial ceremony and which is to be recited by the bride. It runs as follows :—**अर्यमणं नु देवं कन्या अग्निं अयक्षत ॥ सनोदेवो अर्यमा प्रेतो मुंचतु मा पते ॥** Some commentators consider that the first half is to be recited by the husband, while the latter half is to be repeated by the wife. They take **मा** as the accusative of **अहम्**. The reading of the Ashwalāyana-Grihya-Sūtra is **प्रेतो मुंचतु नामुतः**. The commentators, moreover, leave off the word **इतः**. All this has the effect of disjoining the two hemistiches which otherwise form one connected whole. The verse may be thus translated: 'This maiden sacrified to god Aryaman the fire ; let not the god Aryaman seperate me from this (husband of mine **अमुतः**) or from my husband from this world" or neither from this world nor here after. This is the fourth instance of a verse which is to be recited by a female. It is needless any longer to multiply instances of this sort. Vedic bards can thus be conclusively shown to have composed verses for the recitation of females. They often composed dialoques with a view that the husband and the wife should repeat to each other the portions appointed 134, for a very large number of verses is found which are recited by the husband to wife (**यथा एव वायुः पर्वते यथा समुद्र एजति एवं तेगर्भ एजतु सह जरायुणा अवसर्पतु ॥** They must have been composed with the object that females should understand them and should take suggestions from and should act upon them. To suppose otherwise is to reduce women to the state of wooden dummies. There are again many verses of the Veda which are to be recited both by males and females. We may for this refer to the **गर्भाधान** ceremony of the (**इमं मे वरुण श्रुधि हवमद्या च मृलयत्वां अवस्युराचके ॥** Instances of this kind form a considerable portion of the Smarta and Shrauta ceremonial. If the above conclusion be correct we may safely infer that women are entitled to study of the Vedas.

It is in this connection worth inquiry as to what opinion is held by Bādarāyana, the reputed author of the Vedānta-Sūtra, which is considered to be the corner-stone of Hindu religion and Hindu philosophy.

No less than fourteen commentaries exist on the Sūtras of Bādarāyana but all appear to have conspired to misrepresent the views of Bādarāyana. They have represented him as the best supporter of orthodox Hinduism and as the most staunch opponent of reform. The commentators have in fact made Bādarāyana odious to modern reforms and to the most eminent scholars of Europe. I am in duty bound to point out that Bādarāyana Vyās is free from all reproach on the point. He is a most impartial writer possessing broad and enlightened views such as would do credit to the best reformers and the greatest of scholars both European and native.

From the treatise of the Sūtras of Jaimini on the Pūrva-Mīmānsa, we learn that it is Bādarāyana who raises his voice in favour of the capacity of females whom Bādarāyana declares as possessing the power of performing religious rites and ceremonies. The cogency of his arguments and the weight of his authority force Jaimini to admit that women possess the power of performing rites and sacrifices. Jaimini, however, restricts this power of females in such a manner as to give females very little or only nominal powers. If as Bādarāyana opines that females are endowed with the power of sacrificial performances, it follows, as a matter of course, that they must be initiated and allowed to put on the sacred thread.

The views of Bādarāyana in connection with Shūdras being entitled to initiation consequently to the study of the knowledge of Brāhmana are as broad and praise-worthy as Bādarāyana's opinion with regard to rights and privileges of women. Bādarāyana holds that Shūdras are entitled to the knowledge of Brāhmana in opposition to the opinion of Jaimini to the contrary. In the two Sūtras **मध्वादिषु असंभवात् ज्योतिषिभावाच्च**, Bādarāyana gives a statement of the view of Jaimini who considers that Shūdras are not entitled to **ब्रह्मविद्या**. This opinion of Jaimini is as a **पूर्वपक्ष** or *primâ facie* view only. Bādarāyana then states the **सिद्धांत** or the decision on the point, in the Sūtra **भावन्तु बादरायणो अस्ति हि**. The Sūtra teaches that Shūdras are entitled to **ब्रह्मविद्या** as there are instances. Two instances are cited, one that of **जानश्रुति पौत्रायण** and the other of **जाबाल**.

The two Sūtras **मध्वादिषु असंभवात् अनधिकारं जैमिनिः** and **ज्योतिषि भावाच्च** are taken by commentators as treating the same subject whether the gods are entitled to or are required to learn the **ब्रह्मविद्या**. But that subject has been already treated of in the previous Adhikarana and there is nothing whatever to moot the

same point over again. That topic has been brought to a close by Bādarāyana who cites in concluding that Adhikarana passages from scripture and Smritis. In that topic the authority of Bādarāyana has been cited and it is but awkward to cite the same authority over again if the two Sūtras **मध्वादि**, &c., are considered as dealing with the same subject matter. Rāmānuj sees the force of this and takes **मध्वादि** as beginning a new Adhikarana. According to the commentators **मध्वादि** objects to the conclusion arrived in the preceding Sūtras and teaches that gods are qualified to **ब्रह्मविद्या**. The objection that is supposed to be urged is this that in certain Vidyas gods cannot be conceived as engaged in their performance. But a general objection—that it is inconsistent to suppose gods as performing Upāsanas inasmuch as they are themselves subjects of those Upāsanas—has been raised and satisfied. This Sūtra **विरोधः कर्मणि** is taken by Sankara as referring to the inconsistency of gods presenting themselves at all sacrifices. But the interpretation does not appear to be correct. The inconsistency is of learning the **ब्रह्मविद्या** while they are themselves the subjects of these devotions.

The second Sūtra **ज्योतिषिभावाच्च** teaches according to Sankara that the sun, etc., are mere spheres of earth, etc., But the word **ज्योतिः** rather means lights and cannot be supposed as referring to the sphere. Rāmānuja sees this difficulty and takes **ज्योतिषि** as referring to the text **तदेवा ज्योतिषां ज्योतिः आयुर्होपासते अमृतम्** । From this passage he infers that gods cannot be qualified for **ब्रह्मविद्या** as both men and gods are engaged in worships of **ब्रह्म**. But the passage rather goes against such an interpretation for there is no inconsistency in the fact that both men and gods should be engaged in the devotion of Brāhmana. The text of scripture rather supports the view of Bādarāyana and not of Jaimini who considers that gods are not qualified while the text teaches that gods do perform **ब्रह्मविद्या**.

The commentators interpret the Sūtras of the **शूद्राधिकरण** in such a way that nowhere in the Sūtras we find Bādarāyana expressing his view as to whether the Shūdras are or are not qualified for **ब्रह्मविद्या**. According to the commentators, **शूद्रस्य तदनादरश्रवणात् तदाद्रवणात् सूच्यते हि** is the first Sūtra that opens up the Shūdrādhikarana. This is a very abrupt beginning if we follow the interpretation of the glosiators. The Sūtra appears to supply the reasons for what precedes and the preceding Sūtra is **भावन्तु बादरायणो अस्ति हि**. This last Sūtra and consequently the two Sūtras that precede it must be connected with the Shūdrādhikarana. The Sūtra teaches that (Bādarāyana holds) that there is existence. (of Shūdras being entitled to **ब्रह्मविद्या**) since there is the instance. The next Sūtra supports this view (that **जानश्रुति पौत्रायणं** was a **शूद्र** because) sorrow he felt at hearing the insulting words (**अपेहिरे शूद्र**) (and) going to

him (रैक्व) and because there is a plain indication of रैक्व. The commentators have so interpreted the Sūtra शुक् अस्य तदनादर श्रवणात् तदा द्रवणात्, सूच्यते हि, and to represent Bādarāyana as a thorough-going orthodox and to lower him in the estimation of true scholars. We almost feel disgusted at Bādarayana if we follow the interpretation of the commentators.

They represent Bādarāyana as quoting a well-known rule of grammar or etymology. Pānini derives शूद्र from सूच् and this is the burden of the Sūtra according to the commentators. But the interpretation is far-fetched. It is merely an accident that in the same Sūtra we find two words शुक् and आद्रवण. We have no right whatever to combine them. शुक् is not immediately followed by आद्रवण. शुक् is followed by तदनादरश्रवण. If you wish to join together words, you must first combine शुक and श्रवण. This does not serve your purpose. The word सूच्यते cannot be connected with शुक् for शुक् has to be derived from शुच् and not सूच्. Moreover तदनादर and तदाद्रवण contain तद्. If तदाद्रवण has to be interpreted as going to रैक्व (रैक्वं प्रति आद्रवण), तदनादर must mean (रैक्वेण कृत अनादर श्रवण) hearing the insulting words of रैक्व, The Shūtra really teaches that जानश्रुति पौत्रायण felt sorry at being called a शूद्र and then went to रैक्व again with his daughter and that there are indications which show he was a शूद्र.

The teaching of गायत्री मन्त्र (अथोपसीदत्यधीहिभोः । सावित्रीं मे भवाननुब्रवीतु इति (Gobhila II, 10, 38) is the principal thing that forms part of the ceremony of Upanayana. In later times people became unwilling to allow females to perform religious rites on their own account. The holy worship of the sun is the most important rite and females were considered not entitled to perform this rite especially. They were considered thus disqualified to worship the sun and to repeat the Gāyatri Mantra. The practice of initiating females consequently fell into disuse. As females were not entitled to worship the sun, they were not entitled to perform the ceremony of Upanayana or the sacrament of initiation. When the ceremony of Upanayan became connected with or came to be supposed as the ceremony of putting on the sacred thread females were deemed not qualified to put on the sacred thread. In consequence of the privilege of the worship of the sun being taken away from women. When females were considered as not worthy of initiation, they were considered not entitled to perform any religious rite whatever. It is therefore that we find Apastamba laying down a general rule that a woman cannot sacrifice (न स्त्री जुहुयात् II, 6, 15, 16).

Union in blood and the consequent formation of a mixed tribe is the result of two races coming in contact and living together for a long time. When the Aryans descending from Central India poured in large numbers into India they conquered the aborigines and settled over the fertile plains of

the Indus and the Ganges six different races were formed by the combination of three sections of the Aryans and two of the autachthonous tribes (Baudhāyana II, 5, 8-9). रथकार is an instance of a mixed race. Sāyana in the जैमिनीय न्यायमाला thus defines a रथकार :—

वैश्यायां शूद्रादुत्पन्नो माहिष्यः। शूद्रायां वैश्यादुत्पन्ना करण्वी ॥ तस्यां करण्यां माहिष्मतादुत्पन्नो रथकारः॥ As the blood of a शूद्र runs through the veins of a रथकार, the Europeans consider him to be a शूद्र. But Hindu theologians take a different view. Such a person is not a Shūdra for they say the Aryan blood preponderates and therefore he rises higher than a शूद्र (निषादेना पंचमाज्जातो अपहन्ति शूद्रताम् Baudhāyana II, 5, 8-9). True it is that he does not belong to the three superior castes but he is not therefore a शूद्र. Nāgoji Bhatta goes the length of calling him a Brāhman रथकारो नाम ब्राह्मणः in his comment on संज्ञायां शिल्पिनि चाक्रियः (Pan., VI, 2, 77). Jaimini allows रथकार to perform अग्न्याधान. The रथकारs trace their descent from सुधन्वा and the following verse from the Rigveda is cited enabling a शूद्र to perform अग्न्याधानः—विष्मी शमी तरणित्वेन वायतो वतोराः सन्तो अमृतत्वमानशुः॥ सौधन्वनः ऋभवः सूर चक्षसः संवत्सरे समपृच्यंत धीतिभिः (I, 7, 30) ॥

Some of the olden Dharma-Sūtras prescribed the sacrament of initiation of a Rathkār and Shūdras of similar sort. (बौधायन गृह्यसूत्र II, 5, 8,-9 and बौधायन धर्मसूत्र I, 8, 13, 14) निषादेन निषाद्यमा पंचमाज्जातो ऽपहन्ति शूद्रताम् ॥ १३ ॥ तमुपनयेत् षष्ठं याजयेत् ॥ १४ ॥

In the second Adhyāya Sūtra-sthāna of Susruta we find the following opinion alluded to—शूद्रमपि कुल गुण संपन्नं मंत्र वर्जं मुपनीतमध्यापयेत् इति एके ॥

Pāraskara in his Grihya-Sūtras cites the opinion of some that Shūdras should perform the marriage ceremony without the use of Vedic hymns (I, 5, 2). The learned men of Vedic times did admit Shūdras into ceremonies. The Taittiriya Brāhmana allows to a Rathakāra to recite Mantras Agnyādhāna (Weber's Indischie Studion, P. X, 12). The Dharma-Sūtra of Gautama alludes to the opinion of some that Shūdras may offer a Pākayajnya. The Apastamba Dharma-Sūtra (II, 2, 3) allows Shūdras to cook food at the Vaiswadeva ceremony. He allows Brāhmans to eat food of Shūdras provided they follow the duties prescribed for them.

(सर्व वर्णानां स्वधर्मे वर्तमानात्रां भोक्तव्यं शूद्र वर्जं मित्येके, I, 6, 18)

Baudhāyana lays down an injunction that a Rathakāra who has the Shūdra's blood in his veins should be allowed to receive the sacrament of initiation (गृह्यसूत्र II, 5, 8-9).

At the time of Aswalāyana Grihya-Shūtra Sudras could perform the ceremony of मधुपर्क (पादौ प्रक्षालयीत दक्षिणमग्रे ब्राह्मणाय सव्यं शूद्राय I, 4).

In the Chhāndogya Upanishad we find instances of Shūdras who were allowed to receive the sacrament of initiation by learned Brāhmans. A distinction however should be drawn in this respect between Shūdras, and the females of the three higher castes. The latter received the sacrament of initiation as of right, while it was not the case with Shūdras. All that we can say is that the barrier of Brāhmanism was not impassable. Outside the pale as the Shūdras were of Brāhmanism the sacrament of initiation was a special favour shown to them by Brāhman. Riches appears to have played an important part. Wealthy Shūdras were admitted into Brāhamanism by the priests on some pretext or other. In the Chhāndogya Upanishads the reigning prince was Jona-sruti Pautrāyana. He was a Shūdra. Raigue admitted him by the honor not for his wealth but for his being a Kshatriya in a very wide sense, *i. e.*, in the sense of his weilding the acepter over the land. In the case of Satyakana Jābāla the priest admitted him to the honour of initiation for his thorough truthfulness. Their general prohibition did exist that Shūdras could not study the Vedas. But the Brāhmans waived this principle on many occasions and hit upon indirect ways of admitting the Shūdras into the pale of Brāhmanism.

The three facts noted by us as existing in the Gobhila Grihya-Sūtra and particularly the allusion to the sacred thread as put on by females prove that it is an ancient work, the compilation of which must have preceded the composition of the Dharma-Sūtras that have been handed down to us. As we have shown that the Dharma-Sūtras of Gautama can be referred to the 10th century B. C. we may assign the Sūtras of Gobhila to the 11th century B. C. Gobhila knows of Yajnyopavita as a thread. The custom of putting on the sacred thread existed then in the 11th century B. C. Not only males put on thread but it was also used by females at the marriage ceremony. Gobhila speaks of the Aupanishad-vrata. The circumstance proves that the Upanishads had been in existence before the compilation of the Sūtras of Gobhila.

The son of Gobhila in his Grihya-Sangraha quotes a verse which may be traced to the Manduk-Upanishad (p. 773, Cal. Ed.). But we cannot therefore infer that the son of Gobhila quotes the verse from the Mandukopanishad for it is not too much to say that similar verses may have occurred in other Upanishad-treatise some of which are lost. There is a third line of argumentation which

leads to the same result that the Upanishads existed in the 14th century B. C.

Professor Goldstrucker, one of the greatest Sanskrit scholars of the 19th century, has pointed out in opposition to the views of Professor Max Müller that Yask, the author of the Narukta, preceded Pānini. Nanda Pandit while commenting on the Dharma-Sūtra of Vasistha (V., 55) observes that Vasistha quotes from the Nirukta and Dr. Bulher notices the fact and remarks that there is a great resemblance between the explanation of Vasistha and Yask. Nanda Pandit's assertion is in all probability correct though we cannot be sure about it. For it is possible to hold that Yask flourished before Vasistha and before Gautama who wrote his Sūtras before Vasistha. Professor Macdonald remarks that Yask quotes legal rules in the Sūtra style. He does so put but he however appears to be a precurser of the existing Dharma-Sūtras. If we look to the Third Chapter of the Nirukta, we find Yask using such terms as the प्रजनन यज्ञ.

The corresponding word current in our own times is जातकर्म which is also found in the Sūtras of Gautama and others. The question whether a daughter was entitled to inheritance and whether eldest son of the pointed daughter was entitled to succeed had not assumed at the time of Yask that definite shape which we find in the existing Dharma-Sūtras. The question alluded to in the Nirukta (Durga whether the child was the property of the father or the mother) does not find its place in the Dharma-Sūtras extent. For these reasons we may assign the Nirukta to the 11th century B. C. The word उपनिषद् occurs in the Nirukta at III, 3. The Parishista or supplement to the Nirukta cites passages from the Chhāndogya and Brihadāranyaka Upanishads while the Nirukta itself refers to the Kanhopanishad which is more modern than those Upanishads.

The reference in the Nirukta shows that Yask considered the Upanishads as a revealed literature. The author of the Nirukta must therefore have been separated from the Upanishad by an interval of two centuries at least. If we have correctly assigned Yask to the 11th century B. C. the majority of the Upanishads must have been in existence in the 14th century B. C.

We shall thus arrange the three classes of Upanishads previously alluded to. For the composition of the two classes of Upanishads—the classical of the sectarion it would be reasonable to allow a period of 600 or 700 years. We then refer these to a period between 1400 to 2000 B. C. The Upanishads may be referred to between 2000 to 2500 B. C.

The Jābālopanishad has been generally admitted to be an old Upanishad. It is referred to as a Shruti in the Vedānta-Sūtra. It contains a reference to the " holy cord " Yajnyopavita. The passage which contains a reference to holy cord runs as follows :—

अथ हैनमत्रिः पप्रच्छयाज्ञवल्क्यम् । पृच्छमित्वा याज्ञवल्क्य अयज्ञोपवीति । कथ ब्राह्मण इति । सहोवाच याज्ञवल्क्य इदमेव वा ऽस्य यज्ञोपवीतं य आत्मा प्राश्याचम्यायं विधीः परिव्राजकानाम् । तीराध्वाने वा अपां प्रवेशे वा अग्निप्रवेशे वा महाप्रस्थाने वा । अथ परिव्राट् विवर्णनासा मुण्डोऽपरिग्रहः शुचिरद्रोही भैक्षणो ब्रह्मभूयाय भवतीति । यद्यातुरः स्यान् मनस्त्ववाचा वा सन्यसेत् । एषपंथा ब्राह्मणाहा मुचितस्तेनैव संन्यासी ब्रह्मविदिव्येव मेष भगवन् याज्ञवल्क्य ॥ ४ ॥ तच्च परमहंसानाम संवर्तकारुणिश्वेत केतु दुर्वासो—ऋभु—निदाघ जड़भरत—दत्तात्रेय—रैवतक प्रभृतयो ऽव्यक्त लिंगा अन्यस्काचारा अनुन्मत्ता उन्मत वदाचरन्तः त्रिदण्ड कमण्डलु शिक्यं जल पवित्रं पात्रं शिखां यज्ञोपवीतं च इत्येतत्सर्वंभुः स्वाहेत्यप्सुपरित्वाज्या त्मानमन्विच्छेत् (Jābālop-Upanishad) ।

There is here a reference to the holy cord since there is reference to clothes, in addition to the cord. Moreover the word यज्ञोपवीत follows the word शिखा which shows that author means nothing else than the "holy cord." The words अयज्ञोपवीती कथं ब्राह्मणः show that the "holy cord" was a badge of Brāhmanhood at the time of Yājnyavalkya. For it is difficult to conceive, says Atri to Yājnyavalkya, how a Brāhman could do without a "holy cord." The custom of putting on the sacred thread had taken such a deep root at the time of Yājnyavalkya that a Brāhman like Atri thought it difficult to dispense with it. We must, therefore, infer that the practice of putting on the sacred thread had been a time-hollowed custom at the time of Yājnyavalkya. The Mantra for putting on the sacred thread is not found in any way of the Samhitas but occurs at the Brāhmopanishad. But there is nothing to show that it is not a genuine Mantra. The Mantra may have been composed at the time of the Rigveda by a sage who must have been the author of the (सूक्त) Mantras. Ashwalāyana in the beginning of the Third Chapter of his Grihya-Sūtra states that there were authors of such minor Mantras (क्षुद्रसूक्त) whose productions may not have been worked up into the Rigveda.

Professor Oldenburgh in his General Introduction to the Grihya-Sūtra has arrived at the conclusion that the ceremonies called Grihya (P. II) existed at the time of the Rigveda and even before. He thus writes :—

" The character of the verses quoted in the Grihya-Sūtras justifies it in conjecturing that the Grihya ceremonies existed

at the time of the Rigveda and even before. The Satapatha Brāhmanas, Kaushitaki and several other Upanishads contain a reference to the holy cord as put on by Brāhmans. Gobhila, the eldest Sūtra-writer on Grihya ceremonies, gives a direction in the beginning that all such ceremonies are to be performed by a person who has put on an Yajnyopavita. This would lead us to infer that a Brāhman put on a sacred thread at the time of the Rigveda and even before."

Traces have been left in the Mythology not only of the Indians but also of the Greeks and the parsis that the forefathers of the Aryans once put on a sacred thread. In the Greek Mythology Orion has a girdle round his loins. The Persian Mythology invests Homa with a Kusti or a sacred thread. So does the(Orion, P. L. 44) Mythology of India. Prajāpati of the Veda figures as a man-putting on a sacred thread.

The idea appears to have been so old at the time of the Satapatha Brāhmana that the latter considered that it existed from the very creation of the universe itself.

All these circumstances bear out the conclusion that at the time of Rigveda and even before the Brāhmans put on a sacred thread. An objection may here be urged that the passage of the Taittiriya Aranyaka referred to so many times in his paper only speaks of hides or clothes as यज्ञोपवीत. The Brāhmans so tenacious in observance of old practices have even up to the present moment preserved all the three practices of putting on hides, clothes and a thread at the sacrament of initiation and the followers of the Taittiriya Saka in particular may have adhered to the older custom of wearing hides or clothes. Moreover there is another way in which we can account for this. The Brāhmans had been putting by this time a sacred thread constantly on their person and may have been putting on hides or clothes at the performance of a sacrifice. And this custom may have still prevailed among the Brāhmans of a particular class. Since we believe that at the time of the Rigveda the custom of putting on the sacred thread prevailed among the various Aryan tribes that lived together, we infer that the passage of the Taittiriya Aranyaka only discloses an old practice still current among a particular class of Brāhmans.

From the Pāraskara Grihya-Sūtra quoted above it appears that there were then two practices either of putting on clothes or a thread and the Indian appears to have preserved both. But clothes themselves appear to have been substitutes and not an original thing put on by the Aryans at the time of sacrifice as an Upavita. They used originally to put on hides as an Upavita and the place of the hides was afterwards taken up by clothes. This is seen from the passage of the Taittiriya

Aranyaka referred to above. The word in that passage pertinant to the point in question are as follows :—अजिनं वासो वा दक्षिणत उपवीय. Pāraskara prescribes the use either of clothes or of a thread as for an Upavita. Taittiriya Aranyaka prescribes the use of either of hides or clothes for an Upavita. In commenting on this passage Sāyana observes that it is more convenient to use clothes as an Upavita. The deer-skin appears to have been preferable being more ancient, for the word अजिन is mentioned first. The conclusion to be drawn from these facts is that hides were first used by the Aryans as an Upavita They then began to use clothes retaining however the practice. of putting on hides as an optional thing. After clothes they began the use of the thread and retained all the three things together.

The meaning which the Indian theologians attach to the word यज्ञोपवीत as a thread of Yajnaslias the Lord has been stated above. This is the opinion not only of Prayoga-writers but of such authoritative works as the Grihya-Sūtras. This explanation of the Indian theologians has been accepted by Professor Tilak as correct. He thinks however that the word Yajnyopavita is capable of being otherwise interpreted. It may denote as well, he says, a thread for sacrificial purposes and this explanation in the opinion of Professor Tilak would not be incorrect. But he adopts the first since he observes it is supported by authority, namely, of the Prayoga-writers. But some of these writers themselves—notably Jayarām—(commenting on this Mantra यज्ञाय वेदोक्त कर्माधिकाराय हवावा) do allow us to derive the word in the second sense. There is another reason which induces Professor Tilak to adopt the first explanation. He has a theory of his own and the explanation lend support to his theory. "The sacred thread of the Parsis and the Brāhmans," he observes thus, "seems to be a symbolic representation of Prajāpati "—girdle or Orion belt in every respect. But the thread is not the only trace of Orion's dress that we have retained. A reference to the Upanayana ceremonial will show that we have preserved belt, staff, skin, and all. Every boy who is the subject of this ceremony has to wear a Mekhala or grass-cord, just over the navel as it were to represent the three stars in the belt of Orion. To become a Brāhman is to imitate Prajāpati, the first of Brāhmans. Prajāpati assumed the form of the deer-skin. Prajāpati has a girdle round his waist (the belt of Orion), so has the boy his Mekhala with three knots over the navel and lastly Prajāpati has a staff and so the boy must have it too. Thus in the Upanayana ceremony the Brāhmans have fully preserved the original characteristic of the dress of Prajāpati or Orion. The Brāhman Batu does not however carry a sword as Orion is supposed to do and the skin used by the boy is deer's and not of lion's, etc., etc.

We think it is better and more natural to take the word "Yajnyopavita" as an "Upavita" (as cloth or thread) for sacrificial purposes. It is better to understand the word in its literal rather than in the figurative sense. To understand the Lord by Yajna is certainly a later refinement. The idea that the Lord had been from the beginning invested with an Yajnyopavita is certainly a humonide conception. It evidently supposes the Lord to be a human being possessing a human paraphernalia. It is better to suppose that man had his paraphernalia first with which he afterwards invested the Lord. Man saw a bear on earth before he could appear in the heavens. Man saw a dog on earth before he saw a dog in the sky. The fact is so potent that Professor Tilak is driven to make an apology:" I do not mean to say," observed the learned Professor, " that a piece of cloth was not worn round the waist before the constellation of Orion was so conceived; on the contrary, it is more natural to suppose that the people invested Orion with their own dress. But the coincidence or detail does, in my opinion, fully establish the fact that the sacred character of a Batus dress was derived from what the ancient priests conceived to be the dress of Prajāpati (Orion, pp. 151 and 152)."

We may here ask a few questions. Has the constellation of Orion any dress at all? If so, what is that dress? Had the Aryans any dress before they discovered Orion in the sky? If so, what is that dress? Did the Aryans give up their own dress to adopt that of Orion? We do not suppose these questions can be answered at all. It is impossible to answer them. There is no dog in the sky nor a deer, a staff, skin, much less a girdle or an Yajnyopavita. He will again say the Aryans had their own dress and they invested Orion with it. It cannot be said that the priests gave a particular dress differing from their own to Orion and if they did so that must be shown by a clear proof and before that has been proved we have every right to assume the contrary. The Parsis have a sacred thread which they call "Kusti" or "Aivyoanghanem." The 26th verse in the Homa Yeshta of the Avesta whom proper meaning has been pointed out by Professor Tilak himself, states that Ahurmazda has given a natural " sacred thread " to Homa, the presiding deity of the constellation of Orion. The word in the Yeshaivyaonghanem Steher Paesanghem may be rendered as a " star be spangled Yajnyopavita." The verse clearly compares the cluster of stars forming the belt of Orion to an Yajnyopavita. This proves clearly that the Parsis used to put on a sacred thread and they found a like of it in Orion.

Thus the proposition we have advanced appears to be supported by facts. But the question yet remains undecided.

What is this Yajnyopavita, the Mekhala, the staff, and skin? We answer it is the primitive dress of the Aryans. We have already seen that the Upavita formerly meant a deer-skin and that its place was afterwards taken up by clothes. If our conclusion is correct, it follows that the dress of the Batu must have been originally the primitive dress of the Aryans either as hunters or archers. Dr. Schrader in his pre-historic antiquities of the Aryan people, Part IV, Chapter VII, considers that the primitive dress of man was a woollen or linen cloth thrown round the shoulders like a mantle and a girdle. Is this conclusion, one may ask, borne out by the tradition of the East? Yes, we answer. The Taittiriya Aranyaka brings to light a stage which is earlier even than that at which Dr. Schrader has arrived. Before linen and wool Aryans put on hides both in the form of a mantle and a girdle. One and the same piece of hide appears to have been used both for the lower and the upper part of the body, for the word नीवीत is applied by writers on Smritis for both these positions of the cloth. Thus writes Kumārila Bhatta in his Tantra-vārtika (III, 4, 3). नीवीतं केचिद् गलवेष्णिका वन्धं स्मरन्ति केचित् पुनः परिकरवन्धम्। तत्र गलवेपिका बंधो युद्धादन्यत्र न प्राप्नोति। परिकर वंधस्तु सर्वक च उपकरत्वात् प्राप्त इति॥

Bhatta appears to have text of Smritis before him which differed from one another as to the meaning to the word नीवीत. It was taken by some as the position of the cloth passing round the neck and falling down in front. Others again took it in the sense of a girdle or a piece tied round the waist. Bhatta observes that the first is peculiar to men engaged in fight, while the other is used in every day work. The practice referred by Kumārila is quite the reverse of what obtained among Greeks and Parsis. The Parsis and the Tentons girdle their loins at the time of fight. The probable inference that we can draw from this circumstance is that there was a change in the custom.

The Brāhman Batu puts on a Mekhala or grass-cord which may have been necessary in former times for fastening hides round the waist. The word उपनह means to bind as we have seen in यज्ञस्यत्वा यज्ञोपवीतेन उपनह्यामि. From the same root comes उपानह which means a shoe which appears to have been originally a piece of hide fastened to the leg for protecting the feet just as the hides were fastened to the feet by strings. The Mekhala may have been used for fastening the hides round the waist. The Mekhala is therefore nothing but the part of the primitive dress of woman. Instead of a Mekhala Pāraskara prescribes the string of a bow for the man of royal race (धनुर्ज्यांराजन्यस्य). It did not denote any kind of strings whatever. The bow-string was to be used as much. Gangādhar lays down a caution that the bow-string like the Yajnyopavita ought not to be made Tripartile. The bow-string is necessary for an archer. The presence of the bow-string suggests at once the presence of the

bow at the sacrifice. But at present no bow is used. As the meaning of the ceremony was changed and the ceremony was appropriated for initiating the Batu into holy scripture as we will point out further, on the use of the bow or a sword was discontinued. Orion is equipped with a sword. Professor Tilak is not able to account for this and observes merely that the use of the sword may have been a later addition. The Batu is dressed in a deer-skin while Orion is supposed to wear the hide of a lion. On this theory Professor Tilak is unable to account for this difference while on that of us we can give a satisfactory explanation. Men were dressed in hides and in the absence of deer-skin the skin of cows is allowed. Hunters may have put on the hide of a lion and some hunters may have preferred the use of putting on a terrific appearance.

The very word उपनयन in our opinion serves to show that the ceremony was originally performed for initiating a boy into the art of hunting or archery which was the chief occupation in former times. "Upanayana" literally denotes "leading up or guiding." Sanskrit नीत is in Latin "Latus" meaning "carried." Sanskrit वेतृ is "leader" in English. The words are identical in meaning and form in both the languages and we may safely assume their identity. The Tentons appeared to have preserved up to the present moment the original meaning of the word "Upanayana" as leading or guiding. Upanayana as conveying the meaning of imparting instruction to the student is affairs certainly a metaphorical sense of it. The more appropriate word for imparting instruction is उपनिषद्. Students in former times used to gather round their teachers who imparted instruction to them, and these assemblies were called Upanishads which term afterwards began to be used for those philosophical works called Upanishads.

Scholars have already noticed the similarity between the traditions of the East and the West. Woden or Goden of the Germans who figures in the Germany Theology as a wild hunter chasing the stag answers to the conception of Rudra found in the Vedic Mithology. Let us here quote once more the oft-quoted words of Professor Whitney. "There is the whole story illustrated in the sky; the innocent and the lovely Rohini (Aldebaran), the infamous Prajāpati (Orion) in full career after her but laid sprowling by the three jointed arrow the belt (of Orion) which shot from the hand of the near avenger (Sirius) is now to be seen sticking in his body. With this Italo coming down to us from the first period of the Kokshātras in India, who could have the least doubt of its persistent identity from the earliest times to the latest Professor Tilak identifies Orion with Agrahāyana commonly known as Mrigashīrsha or Mriga-Vyādha. The Aitareya Brāhmana identifies Rudra, the presiding deity of Ardra with Sirius or Mriga-Vyādha. We do not accept this identification. "Agra" of San

skrit may be supposed to be changed into Greek "Or." But what becomes of "Ayana" which comes near to Latin "Annus." Lon is in Greek merely a nominative termination and there mefely remains the word "Or" or "Oar." Professor Tilak adopts the identification in the absence of a latter suggestion and a better suggestion there is. Orion is called by the Indian Mriga-Vyādha or simply "Vyādha." We can identify "Vyādha" with German "Woden" on the one hand, and Greek "Orion" on the other. All the three words convey the meaning of hunter in the three different languages. The Sanskrit word "Vyādha" may be easily identified with Woden, the wild hunder of the German Mythology. It may also be identified with the Greek Orion. Taking off the nominative termination on, we have only left "Or." Another and more ancient as it appears to be is the spelling "Oar." Sanskrit व corresponds to Greak "O." Sanskrit वृत्र is Greek "Orthros." Sanskrit व्या is thus represented by "Oa" in Greek. Sanskrit ध् changes into ड in Teutonic languages. For instance, वृद्ध corresponds to English "old." In Prākrit ड and र are inter-changable. लड़का is लड़का. In Sanskrit itself we find the change of ड into ल or र. The same word is in Sanskrit इडा or इळा In Sanskrit ड is changed to ज् or ट. Marathi गड is pronounced as गर by Englishmen even at the present moment.

Sanskrit उरु is in English "wide." We find the following lines at the end of the Tāndya Brāhmana एत (25, 18, 1) द्वैप्रजाप तिर्जीर्यामुरुउपतेन जरामपाहताय जराधते परातदमपयन्ति ॥ ३ ॥

The words (जीर्यामूर) found in the lines quoted are rendered जरया मूढः by Sāyana. This serves to show that in Sanskrit itself ढ was changed into र and *vice versa*.

Sanskrit व्याघ may have thus changed to Greek "Or" or "Oar." The words व्याघ, Woden and Orion are thus phonetically the same and denote the same thing which leaves little doubt as to their identity.

The wild hunter was according to the Greek Mythology transferred into the cönstellation of Orion. Who is this wild hunter, asks Professor Tilak, that was so transformed? We offer the following explanation. At first the Aryans marked a similarity between the earthly hunter and the heavenly one and after a time people called the asterism merely a hunter, व्याघ or व्याघ नक्षत्र as we say. The Aryans began to ask how did the hunter come to be stationed in the sky. They had a theory current among them which could easily account for this. The asterisms were to the Aryans the houses of gods. There was a belief then among men that the spirits of the dead rose to heaven after death. The Chhāndogya and the Brihadāranyaka Upanishad make out that dead pass to the

moon. Men who were then chiefly hunters passed to heaven and thought that their forefathers who were hunters passed to heaven and were converted into stars. Sāyana commenting on the Satapatha Brāhmana II, 2, 1, 2, 6, thus writes:—इषुणा तस्य शिरश्चिच्छेद ..... इषुः शिरश्चेत्युभयगुत्प्लुत्य नक्षत्रात्मना वस्थितं दृश्यते. The mythological conception mentioned hereby Sāyana is certainly in harmony with the theory we have stated above. The constellation of the great Bear is spoken of in the Brihadāranyaka as the residence of the seven sages, *viz.*, Vishwamitra and others. Thus according to the Greek and Indian Mythology we can safely assert that the hunter was translated to heaven spirits or presiding deities of the asterisms were also supposed to come down or fall down on earth. After the lapse of a certain period these spirits and deities rose to heaven. Thus if a Mriga or a deer fell down, he rose up again into the heavens and repaired to the place from which he fell down.

It was in very ancient time that the custom of putting on the sacred thread sprang up into existence and obtained a firm footing among the Aryans. The sacred thread was not then the monopoly of males, as at present females also put it on and performed sacrifices just like males. They were entitled to receive the sacrament of initiation, could study the Vedas and could practice Brahma-charya. Some of the Shūdra races some time after their subjugation were admitted into the pale of Brahmanism and could in many special cases though not universally receive the sacrament of initiation and could put on a sacred thread. The barrier was not insurmountable. It was not hopelessly closed against them. They could take part in some of the ceremonies which had been up to this time the exclusive privilege of the Brāhmans. They could perform अग्न्याधान even with the use of Vedic hymns. They performed several other rites such as मधुपर्क and others. They went through the marriage ceremony though without the use of Mantras. They won these rights slowly and were brāhmanised in the form in which we find them at present. The Shūdras however did not succeed in securing all the rights of Brāhmanism. They still remained beyond the pale. They were not as a general rule entitled to read the Vedas and go through all the Vedic ceremonies. The Upanishads did not as a general rule admit Shūdras into Brāhmanism and into the various Upāsanas some of which were to be performed after the completion of rites and ceremonies peculiar to these which was a preliminary condition to be gone through necessarily. It is certainly for this reason that Bādarāyana lays down a general prohibition that Shūdras are not entitled to Vidyas or Upāsanas. It is for this reason that the Bhagavadgita does not admit Shūdras into Vedic ceremonies though it opens up new paths

before such as the culture of Krishna. The divine songs allows Shūdras to worship the supreme deity in the form of Krishna. As the Lord is ever ready to help his devotees, the Bhagavadgita teaches that the Lord will ultimately initiate his devotees into the mystery of the Vedānta the inravelling of which is sure to secure to the votaries the final beautitude or Moksha.

T. R. AMALNERKAR, B.A.,
Second Class Magistrate,
Indore City.

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